

THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Volume 10
Part 1
1910

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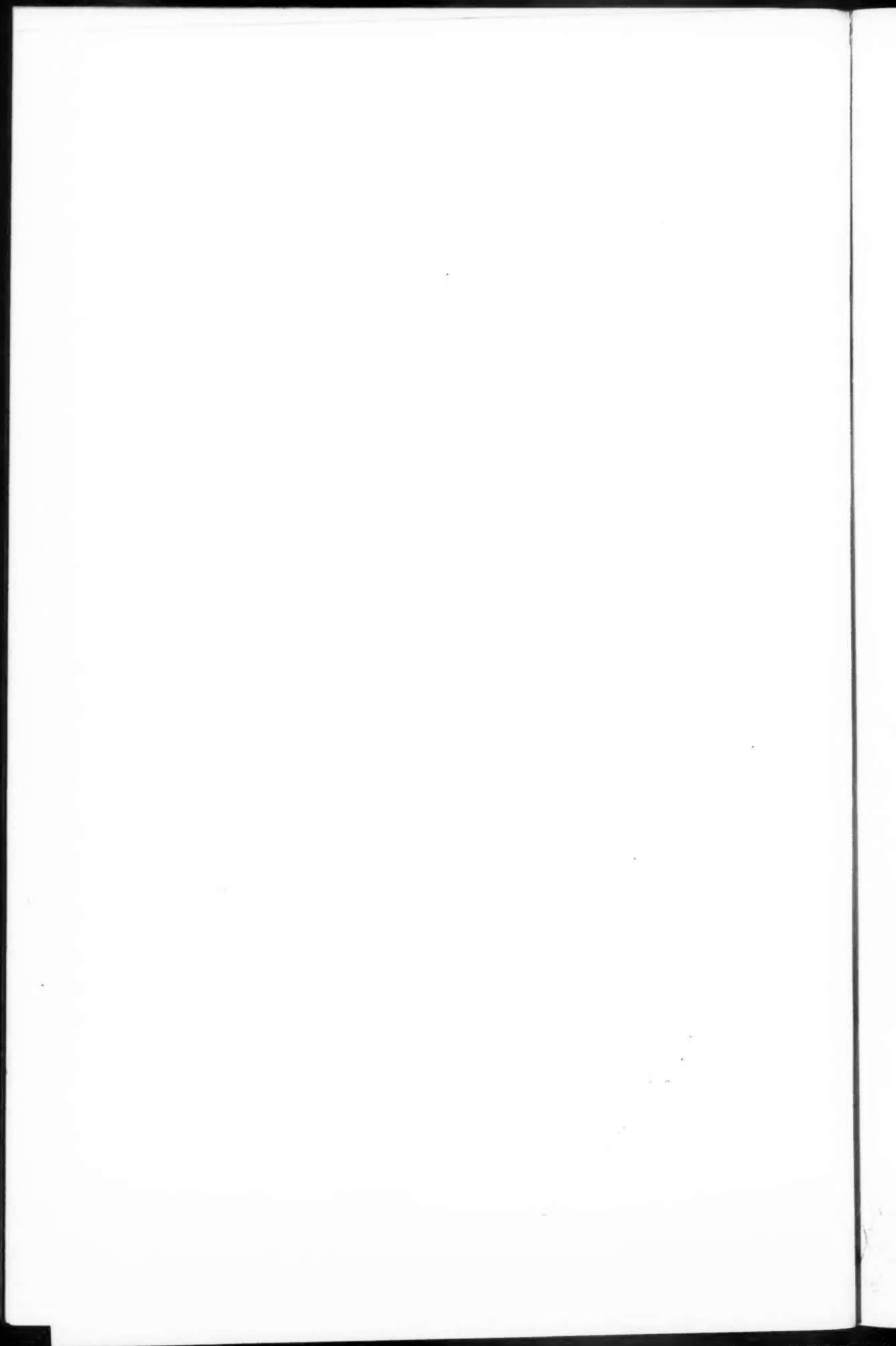
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THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO AN
UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN CONDUCT

VOLUME VIII

JANUARY, 1921

NUMBER I

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

UNCONSCIOUS MOTIVES UNDERLYING THE PERSONALITIES OF GREAT STATESMEN AND THEIR RELATION TO EPOCH-MAKING EVENTS (I. A PSYCHOLOGIC STUDY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN)¹

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NEW YORK CITY

While no one would have the temerity in the present status of the development of historical science to revive the rather discredited theory of Carlyle that history is but the collective biography of a few conspicuous public figures, it cannot be denied that there is often a residuary influence to be detected in the course of events which must be assigned to the part played by the dominating personalities of the time. The present article will be concerned with suggestions regarding a more intensive and scientific study of the latter.

Critical periods in national life are often imperfectly understood because current events only are considered in their interpretation. Intensive study of the personalities of great statesmen of any epoch has but recently become an object of psychological research. When the events in the political and social order are properly coordinated with the conscious and unconscious personal motives and desires of its contemporary leaders, we may then expect a sounder and broader view of historic interpretation. At the culmination of a crisis in national life we find there have often been comparatively few issues that have shaped a final national outcome, and that two or three

¹ Read before N. Y. Psychiatric Society, March 5, 1919.

powerful leaders have forged the ideas and sentiments of the people *en masse* and forced the crisis to a decision. We thus find it said that "the time was not yet ripe," or that "events waited upon a leader sufficiently powerful," etc. Too much reliance, therefore, would seem to have been placed upon current issues and events to explain epochal history, and not enough upon the innate attitudes of certain great contemporaries. These, largely because of their fundamental reactions to certain deeper unconscious personal motives which control human behavior, seize upon the more or less obvious issues of their time and devote themselves to a particular cause with an assiduity altogether out of proportion to any casual reason. Instances bearing out such a contention might be multiplied indefinitely.

True historical interpretation, therefore, of any great epochal moment is not possible until we make a careful psychological study of the people of that particular period, especially its great men and leaders. The position in the main is not a new one, but heretofore historians have made a study of the more obvious characterology of the great statesmen and either have not been able, or were unwilling, to study such historic personages in the more scientific manner now possible, although this has already been done in several instances by those trained in methods of intensive mental analysis. The historian, therefore, has not fully exhausted the possibilities of his subject, because of inadequate psychological training, while the psychologist for the most part has not coupled up his accurate personal analyses with the events to which his characterological study forms a necessary part. Those interested in the two methods of approach in historic study should coöperate more than has been done in the past. This viewpoint is worthy of a more extended investigation than this brief outline will permit. When we shall have made a broader, more intensive analysis of men and events we can possibly comprehend why the souls of certain great leaders seem literally to have caught fire, and they have exhibited an almost superhuman energy in their lifelong devotion to a particular cause.

One may properly inquire, what are some of these deeper motives in the individual which serve the purpose of advancing social consciousness in a practical manner? Modern psychology has unearthed a host of primitive and infantile motives which, though they seem to disappear from the individuals' lives as they grow up, are really found not to have been lost, but are transformed and become operative to the more adult purposes of existence. Simple illustrations are found in creative geniuses whose preoccupation in

childhood early portended a fruition in later life. The boy Stephenson made toy engines, while Newton in his early youth was observant of natural phenomena. But such obvious data are still more deeply analyzable, and to these primary and more genetic instincts modern psychology has already devoted much time and fascinating research. To make such intimate studies immediately serviceable in historic, literary and artistic interpretation, a group of investigators have collected data and published their studies in a journal devoted exclusively to this domain. From a historic point of view it would seem desirable to select the prominent leaders of an epoch and proceed to analyze their characters as to salient personality traits and life reactions, and then examine the previous succession of events in their childhood which may have led up to the main traits of the adult character. In order to confine the issue at this time to a concrete instance, I have undertaken a tentative study of the depressive personality of Abraham Lincoln and the possible developmental causes that might account for such a personality, and have briefly sketched the influence which such character-traits may have had upon the events and issues of his time.

That Lincoln suffered lifelong from periodic depression—indeed, that he never seemed entirely free from some vestiges of the more intense episodes, is well known to all, but an attempt to elucidate the deeper, more genetic causes for such states has not heretofore been undertaken. The difficulties of such a study are in more than one direction; first, in mental medicine we have only too recently formulated a tentative explanation of how retarded or periodic depressions occur. This formulation is still under investigation, as sufficient data upon many points are still lacking. Naturally in our present thesis such studies have to be made upon historic data which, while recorded accurately, were collected for quite other purposes than an innate delineation of the mental traits which might be considered essential for the precise purpose of making a clinical diagnosis. Often, too, as in the case of Lincoln, there is a natural and sublime reserve which great personages draw about their more intimate life. As has been said, the great often lead solitary lives and defy analysis in more ways than one. There seems to be little doubt, however, that if we could have employed the modern methods of mental analysis to the heroic life of Lincoln, almost profane as such a scientific inquiry would now seem to be, we might have acquired sufficient facts to have completely substantiated our present thesis. We are obliged, however, to rest the main tenets of

our conclusions upon reliable historic documents. We shall develop the study by first giving a simple statement of the nature and cause of periodic, or retarded, depressions as psychiatry has come to know them through long experience. Next, we shall state the psychologic mechanisms or unconscious motives seemingly underlying the lives of individuals thus afflicted, and finally we shall examine such portions of Lincoln's life as have a bearing upon this view of the cause of his depressions.

It is well known that many individuals otherwise normal are subject to more or less marked fluctuations in mood, and these swings of emotional feeling may occur irregularly or periodically. Heredity is the most common causative factor in the induction of the temperament and personality from which such disorders are recruited. At least some marked occurrence of such hereditary traits is found in the family stock of nearly three fourths of these patients (Kraepelin). Often the relatives have suffered from outspoken forms of the same mental disorder, or there is present a constitutional bias to some degree of retarded depression.

Individuals who suffer from periodic depressions possess evidence of a peculiar type of personality previous to the onset of the psychosis.² Some show an open, expansive temperament, while others, predisposed to more marked depression, are of a depressive makeup. In the majority frequent and causeless changes of mood are in evidence; they are excitable, excessively shy, or reserved. The disorder usually appears independent of external causes, either physical or mental. Even when such alleged causes are present, the provoking factors are usually inadequate to account fully for the depressed state. The condition is often recurrent, being based upon a deep-seated constitutional mental makeup. It is essentially a benign affliction, and recovery from individual attacks are the rule. The first attack usually occurs in the first or second decade of adult life. The real nature of the underlying morbid process in the brain, if any exists, is most obscure. Several hypotheses have been formulated to account for the psychosis, but none have proven adequate. There are no constant demonstrable or structural changes in the nervous

² As has been pointed out by Hoch and others, the fundamental type of makeup of the manic depressive psychotic is frequently found to be one of either an open type of personality, or one of general moodiness. It is held, however, that there are so many contributing physical and mental factors in the induction of this mental disorder that one must not rely unduly upon the type of personality otherwise than to indicate the main trends of mental reactions which may follow in such personalities.

system which may be counted as characteristic of this condition. In the absence of structural changes in the brain, psychiatrists have lately turned their attention more specifically to the psychologic factors playing a rôle in the evolution of the disorder. These will be considered later.

For the sake of those unacquainted with the condition we may now hastily sketch the usual picture of the mental state. The onset of depression is generally gradual unless it follows acute illness or definite mental shock. First there appears a mental sluggishness; thought becomes slow and difficult. Decisions are poorly made. The patient has difficulty in forming sentences and in finding words with which to express his thoughts. It is hard for him to follow ideas either in reading or in ordinary conversation. The process of association of ideas is remarkably retarded. The patient does not talk because he has nothing to say. There is a dearth of ideas and a poverty of thought. Familiar facts are no longer at their command. Remembrance of most commonplace events is difficult. In spite of the great slowness of apprehension and thought, consciousness and knowledge of surroundings are well retained. The patient appears dull and sluggish and may explain that he really feels tired out. His usual daily activities are performed slowly, as though under a feeling of inward restraint. If he is sent out to walk or to work he loiters until the initial impetus has passed. His usual duties loom before him as huge, impossible tasks because he lacks the will to overcome the inner resistance. Sometimes a patient may become bedridden. Before the mental retardation becomes extreme, the individual may dwell upon and often attempt suicide. The majority of patients say they are "no good" and desire to die, and as they pass into and come out of the deeper depression the possible fulfillment of suicidal desires is most to be feared. As already stated, the emotional attitude is that of a more or less uniform depression, and the patient sees only the dark side of life. The past and future alike are full of misfortune. All aims in life have lost their charm. The patient feels himself unsuited to his environment, he has lost his religious faith and lives on day by day in gloomy submission to his ordained fate. Often patients are ill humored, shy, are pettish or anxious, and are frequently irritable and sullen. Compulsive ideas are not uncommon, and they feel compelled against their inclination to ponder over unpleasant scenes. They often possess insight into the nature of their condition but fail to correct their faulty emotional tone or the morbid trend of judgment. Often they sit help-

less, unable to begin work, and may even permit themselves to be fed; in some cases they may refuse to take food. Thus we find the chief symptoms of the disorder are mental and physical slowness and retardation, absence of spontaneous activity, a dearth of ideas, and a depressed emotional state.

As an explanatory preface to the discussion of the causes that may have played a rôle in the depressive episodes of Lincoln, we may briefly outline some of the more recent hypotheses of periodic or retarded depression. One of the more acceptable formulations is that recently put forward by Hoch, who has studied a long series in the light of the *Freudian* psychology covering the operations of the unconscious motives.

For some time antedating *Freud's* work it was known that in hypnotic states it was possible for one to experimentally create motives for actions and the latter could be carried out without the motive itself entering consciousness. For instance, a person duly hypnotized might be told while in that state that on the day following at a certain hour he would leave his office, return home and go to bed. The hypnotic seance would then be closed, and the following day the suggestion would be unconsciously obeyed. It, however, remained for *Freud* to reveal to us a new world of such unconscious motives of which we had previously been comparatively unaware. He insisted that the motives of infancy and childhood did not disappear from the mental life of the adult but underwent further development. From the very nature of their further development the original form of their existence ceased to exist as a reality to the normal adult consciousness. *Freud* found on analysis one of the great unconscious motives of the strivings of earliest life was a tendency for a strong attachment of the child to the parent, and particularly of a great love for the parent of the opposite sex. One recognizes at once the possible rôle such a love attachment might play in the development of the adult love-instinct. But adult love contains sensual elements which are not present in the child, and can, therefore, play no part in that tender feeling toward the parent. As puberty approaches, however, these sensual elements appear. It has been shown that the great task of puberty is to dissolve the bonds of the home tie and to transfer a part of the affections shown previously for the parent to new objects in the service of the instinct of propagation. This puberty-process, for some as yet unknown reason, is not possible to every individual, and the assumption is made that in such instances the trend of the sensual impulse then

flows in the direction of the tender feeling formerly felt for the parent. But the conscious personality strongly opposes this process, hence this sexually intensified part of the attachment for the parent remains repressed and unconscious. One may say, therefore, that in the course of adult development certain normal steps remain undeveloped, or are arrested. Hence this defect of undeveloped instinctive desires—which later are the very core of the personality—results in a defective adaptation especially in the sexual sphere, and, as has been carefully pointed out, when one states there is a sexual cause in every neurosis it does not necessarily imply a sexual cause in the adult sense, but in the sense that the cause lies in the imperfect development of the instinct. It has been shown that the unconscious has different depths, as it were, and that the infantile motives just mentioned are undoubtedly among the deepest repressed strivings. But in order to understand these infantile motives aright one needs to free himself from the ordinary adult logical way of thinking and meet the situation on the infantile level. Not a few persons, and even physicians, knowing that *Freud* has spoken of sexual causes and the child's longing for the parent, have simply combined or translated this into terms of adult sexuality. This is probably wrong, because adult sexuality has many qualities added at puberty which have no such formulation in the infantile life. Often the ideas of desire, expressed in the depressive psychosis in particular, are much more vague. They not infrequently express a mere desire of possession of some sort. This is well shown in the severest forms of melancholia wherein the longing is often expressed as a wish to die and be with the mother, or the wish for removal of the other parent as shown in the delusive statement that the father is dead. For instance, a man may become neurotic when he becomes engaged as Lincoln did. After marriage he may be unable to meet the marriage relations and then he may develop a psychosis of an intense type in which the ideas expressed are essentially that his marriage is annulled, his father is dead, and that he himself is following the mother into her grave and is united with her in her coffin. In other words, it may be inferred in such a case that the man was unable to adapt himself to his married life and therefore regressed or returned to a union with the mother. It can readily be seen that this psychotic setting is not sexual in the adult sense, though it is an evidence of imperfect adaptation of the sexual life.

There still remains another important point, namely, the thoroughly illogical nature of the above example. On logical grounds it

is absurd to wish—and we regard the delusions as expressions of unconscious wishes—that the father should die, when all that is desired is to be united with the mother in death. But the psychosis does not think logically. The wish for the father's death or removal exists, because to the child he is the rival in the affections of the mother. We must not forget that the ideas expressed in psychoses are often, so far as known, direct emanations of unconscious desires which cannot be understood by the observer or the patient when standards of logical thinking are applied to them. And, when we try to cast them into logical or adult forms, we are doing something which is, strictly speaking, not possible, and the formulation is apt to become onesided and artificial. To recognize this is important. The vagueness of these trends is not due to our imperfect knowledge of them so much as to their very nature, and we are not improving matters if we attempt to make them clearer than they really are.

It has been said that the infantile motives, upon which *Freud* lays so much stress, have been revealed by a method which is questionable, owing to the great latitude given in it to interpretation. But in studying the psychoses we find exactly the same motives as those which *Freud* has inferred, and here very often no complicated interpretation is needed, since the unconscious desires are expressed directly in the ideas of the patient. This is what should make the central claims of psychoanalysis so convincing to the psychiatrist. *Freudian* psychology, however, can be understood only when the dynamic importance of the deepest infantile motives is fully grasped, and this is a side on which even much of the psychoanalytic literature does not lay adequate stress.

In the foregoing brief outline, we have the principal teachings of *Freud*, elaborated and applied by Hoch to the mechanisms of the depressive episodes of the benign psychoses. It must be held in mind that in the milder forms of retarded depressions, those without hallucinations, delusions or disorientation, the expressions of sadness and dejection rarely go so far as to completely illustrate the hallucinatory or delirious form of the hypothesis. Thus it was in the life of Lincoln, where but the vaguer outlines of these ideas were in evidence.

We shall now undertake to sketch hastily the main facts of Lincoln's life, and note what bearing the above hypothesis has in the interpretation of the depressive episodes of this great man.

So far as we have knowledge, Lincoln's early childhood was in

no way dissimilar to that of any number of other children whose parents were pioneers in what was then a desolate wilderness. Little is known of his likes and dislikes or his manner of behavior and conduct aside from the fact that he was a well-intentioned, obedient and affectionate child.

In 1817, when the family made their way from Kentucky to Spencer County, Indiana, it was decided that they remain in this locality instead of pushing further westward. A shack was built, one side of which was left entirely open as there was no chimney, and the fire was built half in the home and half outside. During this bleak winter Abe and his sister enjoyed the rough pioneer life, but to the ill-clad, delicate mother it meant nothing but great deprivation and hard work. She coughed a good deal and seemed over-tired and sad, but no one seemed to realize that she was seriously ill. One day, while lying on her bed she motioned to her son to come near, and reaching out one hand to the eight-year-old boy she pointed to the little sister and whispered, "Be good to her, Abe." Then she closed her tired eyes, and several hours elapsed before the children knew she was dead.

Next day Lincoln's father made a rude coffin, and the mother was laid to rest at the top of a little hill. Abe protected the grave from the wild animals by piling rocks upon it, and the two children went down the hill clinging to each other in their grief. The boy grieved that his mother had been laid away without funeral rites, and several months later he took a wandering preacher to the little mound, already covered with the snows of winter, and had him deliver a funeral sermon over her grave.³ It is said that he suffered the mother's loss more than any other member of the family, and that this was the dreariest winter of his life. But before another year had passed Mr. Lincoln brought from Kentucky a new wife, who was to change the lot of the little family decidedly for the better. One might think in the natural order of events the introduction of a foster mother into the home so soon after his own mother's death would have made the boy contract a dislike, or a certain amount of distrust toward her position in the household. Instead, however, a steadily increased companionship developed between the two. The warmth of this friendship was made the deeper in that the stepmother gave Abe her support in enabling him to carry out his desires for a more elaborate education than the backwoods ordinarily afforded. Indeed, she even urged this in spite of the fact

³ Tarbell, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 1900, Vol. I, p. 27.

that the father desired him to engage in the more immediate issues of the home and upbuilding of the family income. It was probably at her instigation that he was permitted the few books which he borrowed or bought from his meagre savings. In view of the fact that the father himself had a fairly good education and was apparently disinclined to further his son's ambition in this direction, one can easily comprehend that not a little dislike was engendered in Abe's mind toward his father for thus curtailing his chances of gaining the education to which he aspired. Even antedating this rationalization for an innate lack of harmony between the son and father, there was probably also operative a more basic concept, which is common to all children. In such pioneering communities, the immediate necessity of expending effort toward overcoming the material disadvantages gave little opportunity for an expression of conjugal affection as seen in a more conventionalized society. With the intensive attachment that sons often feel toward the mother, it is natural in many instances for them to possess a keen desire to give the mother in a childish way the affection that the father seemingly neglects. However this may be, one is gradually made aware that Abraham Lincoln grew up much attached to the memory of his mother, and was companionable and kindly disposed toward his stepmother, but that there was a very loose bond of sympathy and attachment toward the father. For years Lincoln supported his father, who died at the age of seventy-three. For the sake of contrast, let us see the optimistic manner in which Lincoln met the death of his father, which took place in 1851. On receiving news of his father's illness, Lincoln felt "unable" for various reasons to go to his sickbed, but in writing to his step-brother said, "Say to him, that if we could meet now it is doubtful whether it would not be more painful than pleasant; but that if it be his lot to go now he will soon have a joyous meeting with loved ones gone before, and where the rest of us, through the help of God, hope ere long to join them."⁴

To return again to an earlier period: While Abe was quiet and reserved in manner and had in many instances evinced a crude shyness as ordinarily seen in rustic youths of his time, he was nevertheless very tender and devoted to his friends and associates. That he was naturally open and generous in all that concerned his relationships was well shown by innumerable instances, and in his protection of the weak against the strong. One also finds that Lincoln

⁴ Francis R. Browne, *Everyday Life of Lincoln*, p. 113.

showed practically no dependence upon his father in the selection of an occupation in life; in fact he took a diametrically opposite course in his approach to the world than that which his father did. Instead of spending his time in studies of inventions and speculative applications of mechanical principles for improving the machinery of the farm, etc., he desired an open and freer contact with young men of his own age. The intensity of the attachment to the mother-imago or ideal was shown in greater part by the fact that he was very little concerned with the sentimentalities of courtship such as other young men were engaged in, and when in the company of young people he was largely the boon companion of the men and rather reserved and cold toward the opposite sex. Instead of having a series of girl friendships and being the squire gallant, there is but one instance of a really sentimental attachment up to the age of twenty-five years, when he made the acquaintance of Anne Rutledge, who was the daughter of one of the proprietors of the settlement at New Salem. It will be remembered this young lady was openly known to be engaged to a man who called himself "John McNeill," who had gone East apparently for the purpose of bringing his parents back with him to New Salem; this duty performed, he was then to marry Anne. In view of this knowledge it seemed to have been relatively easy for Lincoln to form an attachment for Anne under the guise of her being already promised to another,—easier than if she had been entirely free and to be considered in the marriageable class. After a year had elapsed and McNeill failed to return and carry out his part of the contract, Lincoln succeeded in persuading Anne to consider her engagement to the recalcitrant lover as broken, and in the spring of 1835 she consented to become Lincoln's wife. A happy spring and summer followed, but during this time Anne fell ill, and her condition gradually became hopeless. On August 25, 1835, Lincoln was summoned, and after an anguished parting, she died.⁵

This calamity shook the very foundations of Lincoln's deep and sensitive nature. He was profoundly depressed, could not eat or sleep, did little work, and appeared shaken to the depths. One evening not long after Anne's death he entered the little public house in the settlement during a severe storm. In the bitterness of his loneliness and grief he buried his face in his hands and with a cry of almost unbearable anguish and despair exclaimed, "The thought of the snow and rain on her grave fills me with indescribable grief." To the lonely little spot Lincoln frequently went to weep over her

⁵ Tarbell, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. I, p. 120.

grave, and to his friends he seemed to be in the shadow of madness.

In the course of several months, however, Lincoln recovered in greater part from the depression which followed this period, but now there began, apparently without reason, regular periods of slight depressions which were unaccountable, and, as he himself termed them, "unreasonable." We know little of the specific settings of the depressions from which he suffered prior to his engagement to Mary Todd at the age of thirty-one. It would seem as though his attachment was rather casual and very much helped on to an engagement by Miss Todd herself. She was pert, bright and vivacious, and showed a desire to dominate her companions; in contrary moods she was petulant—a trait which has been known in many instances to turn to other less pleasing channels in later life. It is interesting to note that when an actual cementing of the engagement into a marriage bond was to be carried into effect Lincoln became anxious and apprehensive, and showed an unusual amount of perturbation and dejection of spirit. The time fixed for the wedding was the first day of January, 1841. Careful preparations were made at the Edwards mansion; the rooms were decorated, the supper prepared, and the guests invited.⁶ The latter assembled on the evening in question, and the bride, bedecked in veil and silken gown, nervously toyed with the flowers in her hair and waited in an adjoining room. Nothing was lacking but the groom. An hour passed; the guests, as well as the bride, were becoming restless. Another hour passed, and it became apparent that the principal in this little drama had purposely failed to appear. The bride, in grief, disappeared to her room; the wedding supper was left untouched; the guests quietly and wonderingly withdrew. What the feelings of a lady as sensitive, passionate and proud as Miss Todd were, we can only imagine. By daybreak, after persistent search, Lincoln's friends found him. Restless, gloomy, miserable, he seemed an object of pity. His friends, Speed among the number, fearing a tragic termination, watched him closely day and night. Every instrument that could be used for self-destruction was removed from his reach. Mrs. Edwards did not hesitate to regard him as insane, and her sister, Miss Todd, shared in that view.

Here one is at once struck with the fact that the depression immediately succeeding this episode was one in which there was not only an incomplete adjustment to Miss Todd as a bride, but, as we

⁶ William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Abraham Lincoln, the True Story of a Great Life*.

shall see later, Lincoln seemed unable to adapt himself to the full requirements of marriage itself. Hence the profound depression which came on at this time. This despondency was as deep as that ordinarily seen in the depressive psychosis; there was retardation in thought and action, periods of extreme silence, listlessness, indifference, loss of appetite, insomnia, alternating with moods of anxious restlessness. He had gloomy forebodings and thoughts of suicide. This depressive period extended over nearly ten months following his failure to appear on the date first set for his marriage. During this time Lincoln was absent from his regular duties in the State assembly, which he had up to this time carefully and painstakingly attended; he was finally taken by his good friend Speed to Kentucky to regain his health. The question has often been asked whether Lincoln actually had a short period of detention in a sanitarium. We have information, however, that he was kept under the careful watch of different members of the family in Kentucky and was permitted to occupy himself as he pleased upon the ranch. As the months wore on he gradually assumed a more natural attitude, and began to take a more normal interest in his surroundings. After several months he returned to take up his regular duties. He had not, however, entirely recovered his mental health even after this sojourn, and he still had feelings of inadequacy and doubt with periods of depression. The incomplete recovery was shown in his letter to Speed, who had himself married in the meantime after undergoing somewhat similar difficulties in meeting the marriage situation. It will be remembered that after Speed's marriage, when he was settled and contented upon a well-stocked plantation, Lincoln wrote as follows under date of October 5, 1842: "I want to ask you a close question—Are you now, in *feeling* as well as judgment, glad you are married as you are? From anybody but me this would be an impudent question, not to be tolerated; but I know you will pardon it in me. Please answer it quickly, as I am impatient to know." We also gain some idea of the triumph and final compromise in Lincoln's closing words in another letter to Speed, which strikes the keynote of the main difficulty of all whose love ideals are too high for fulfillment, when the mother-love still stands in the way or is not replaced by the independent adult love of marriage: "It is the peculiar misfortune of both you and me to dream dreams of Elysium far exceeding all that anything earthly can realize."⁷ From this and other data it is shown that Lincoln was striving man-

⁷ Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, A History, Vol. I, p. 197.

fully to meet life situations as they were, and he gradually acquired a feeling as though he were given new power to readjust and to meet the marriage relation, for soon after we learn of the renewal of the engagement, and its final consummation. From that time, however, there succeeded attacks of periodic depression. Added to this, while the family life seemed to have been of a happy character, there was some mitigation of the uxoriousness of the marriage tie with the advent of children. When the marriage relations are not simple, natural and satisfying, the mother may transfer a part of her unrequited affection to the children, especially to those of the opposite sex, and the father similarly to the daughters. It seems likely that some of the love not requited in the marriage state was expressed by Lincoln in the fine comradeship that sprung up between him and his third son, William. This affectionate relationship continued to grow daily in importance, so that it was obvious to all that William was Lincoln's great favorite. One also sees that when periods of depression were in evidence, the mere presence of this son was a great comfort and satisfaction to the father and helped him to bear many of his onerous burdens.

Now we must digress a little to note the obverse of the mother attachment. Some time previous to his marriage, Lincoln had written an extensive thesis against the Church, particularly its authority and dominating position in the world and affairs of men. We gain a lurking suspicion that the clear and incisive mind of Lincoln was intent upon lessening the power of *authority* and *dominance* which the Church had through the ages exercised over its devotees. One also gains a strong conviction more than once founded upon fact, as we have seen, that the deepest motive in such a rejection of authority as the portent of this thesis seemed to have implied, was the denial of the heavenly as well as the earthly father's dominance. It is obvious all through Lincoln's early life, his speeches, his addresses and his ordinary conversation that he often quoted the Bible as many another great statesman has done. These citations are the accrements of thinking and belief common to all people; Lincoln apparently comprehended this throughout his whole career, and in dealing with the masses he acted upon this facile fact in his use of it as a universal language understood by all people. Further, it is obvious if one read his speeches and addresses with these facts in mind, that until very much later in life he used these Biblical citations in a purely rhetorical sense, to express emotions that were most aptly handled in such phraseology, rather than as a

fundamental belief springing from his own soul. In point of fact Mrs. Lincoln once said that he had no religious faith in the usual acceptance of the word, but that religion to him was a sort of poetry in his nature.⁸

We shall soon see the application of the foregoing in our thesis. The next great emotional crisis in Lincoln's life that we have to consider is the unforeseen death in 1862 of his favorite son, William. At the boy's sickbed he walked the floor, saying sadly, "This is the hardest trial of my life."⁹ One would have expected from the nature of Lincoln's personality that the essence of his love brought forward from his attachments to his mother and Anne Rutledge would have been so concentrated in his attachment for this son that a depression of considerable intensity would have occurred; this, indeed, did happen. Instead of a long period of depression, however, in which there was inability to work, insomnia, thoughts of suicide, etc., as had been present at the death of Anne and at his failure to make the marriage bond with Mary Todd, the depression was very short. The whole period of sorrow, embraced in an incipient phase of sadness, was entirely removed in the short period of three days. It is interesting to observe by what mechanism this condition seemed to have been curtailed. Lincoln shut himself in his room alone, and saw little of his wife or other son, and in the depths of his despair he turned to religion. That which he had known purely as a form of speech or argumentative rhetoric, and embracing more deeply much which we have seen in an expression of antagonism to the concept of authority as proceeding from God, etc., was now transformed. At this religious experience following his son's death he made a full reconciliation with God and accepted him as his personal God, and from that time on it was seen that a calm and peace entered into his attitude toward life that he had never before known.¹⁰ Coupled with this was an abiding sense that he was protected and guided by the Heavenly Father in all things that portended his attitude in official as well as private affairs. In the depth of this religious conversion we see more than is ordinarily supposed to exist in such an episode. We probably have evidence here that he reconciled himself to the earthly as well as to the Heavenly father, and that at last antagonism toward the earthly father had been removed and he was at peace with the conflict

⁸ Francis R. Browne, *Everyday Life of Lincoln*, p. 478.

⁹ Francis R. Browne, *Ibid.*, p. 351.

¹⁰ Tarbell, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. II, p. 92.

within his own soul. One must remember, however, that the infantile situation in such states passes in two directions—an intensive attachment to the mother, and a dislike for the father. The latter, as we have seen, was greatly if not entirely removed; but not so the former; we shall see how it is still symbolized during the remainder of his life. For instance, the calmness and peace that reigned in his mind are shown in the last days of his life, when he seemed to be roused to a new sense of the beauty of peace and rest, taking pleasure in quiet spots, and reading over and over lines of poetry which expressed repose. The tranquility of death seemed to especially appeal. Mrs. Lincoln once related to a friend that while driving one April day with her husband along the banks of the James they passed a country graveyard shaded by trees, and where the early spring flowers were opening on nearly every grave. It was so quiet and attractive that they stopped the carriage and walked through it. Mr. Lincoln seemed thoughtful and impressed. He said, "Mary, you are younger than I. You will survive me. When I am gone, lay my remains in some quiet place like this."

It would carry us too far afield to explain in detail that the symbolic meanings of these and other musings of Lincoln have much of the idealized longings for the mother-image.¹¹ The enormous task for many to separate themselves from the home, and the mother in particular, is beautifully and poetically portrayed by Jung:¹²

... at the sunrise of life man looses himself painfully from the mother, from the ties of home, to fight the way to his destiny, his direst enemy not before him, but within him, that deadly yearning backward to the abyss of self, to drown in his own wellspring, for engulfing within the mother. His life is an unending struggle with this death, a violent and fleeting escape from ever-imminent night. This death is no outer foe, but his own and inner longing for the silence and deep quiet of not-to-be, a dreamless sleep upon the waters of creation and passing away. Even in his highest strivings towards harmony and balance, for philosophic depth and artistic skill, he yet seeks death, for stillness, for satiety and peace. Should he, like Peirithoos, rest too long in this place of morning calm, stupor lays hold of him, and the poison of the serpent has crippled him forever. If he shall live, then he must fight, and give up his yearning for the past, that he may rise to his true height. And when he has reached his noonday, then he must again sacrifice the love

¹¹ Lincoln often said, "All that I ever have been, and all that I hope to be, I owe to my mother."

¹² Wells' review of Jung's *Symbolism in the Unconscious*, *Psychiatric Bulletin*, 1916.

of his own greatness, since for him there can be no tarrying. So does the sun spend his fullest strength, hastening onward to the fruits of autumn, which are the seeds of immortality; in children, in work, in renown, to a new order of things—whose suns in their courses once more shall rise and wane.

According to Lincoln's most intimate friends, he was totally unlike other people, and indeed was looked upon as a "mystery." They considered him a sad and gloomy man, who did not know what happiness was. "Terrible" was the word which his friends used to describe him in his darkest moods.¹³ His musical tastes were simple, and he loved plaintive songs and ballads. He liked best of all "Twenty Years Ago," a song depicting a man who revisits the playground of his youth and the graveyard where his boyhood friends are buried.

All through 1863 and 1864 Lincoln's thin face had day by day grown more haggard; his eye, always sad when he was in deep thought, had a look of unutterable grief. Through all these months Lincoln was, in fact, consumed by sorrow. "I think I shall never be glad again," he said to a friend.¹⁴ But as one by one the weights lifted, a change came over him. He was in fact transfigured, and that indescribable sadness which seemed to be a part of his very being, suddenly changed for an equally indescribable expression of serene joy, as if he were conscious that the great purpose of his life had been achieved.

So we find that Lincoln at last accepted a religious outlet, as a means for unconsciously solving or sublimating a large part of his regressive relations with life which had heretofore taken the form of intensive and prolonged depressions. There can be little doubt had Lincoln lived, in spite of the fact that the reconstruction period would have been an enormous tax on his great powers in carrying it through to its final and just conclusion, he would not have suffered from deep depressions—at least not to the extent that had been characteristic of him for the years prior to his final reconciliation to a personal religious life. That the intense longing for the mother-ideal was unchanged and was still the dominant note in Lincoln's soul is shown in the persistence of his life-long characteristic dream. Its beautiful and classic significance should be at once obvious in its death symbolism. In this dream, he said he seemed to be in a singular and indescribable vessel, always the same, mov-

¹³ Francis R. Browne, *Everyday Life of Lincoln*, p. 113.

¹⁴ Francis R. Browne, *Ibid.*, p. 545.

ing with great rapidity towards a dark and indefinite shore. Lincoln had implicit faith that events would shape themselves favorably when he had this dream, which preceded nearly every important event of the War. Lincoln said that victory did not always follow his dream, but that the event and results were important. On the night previous to his assassination Lincoln said, "I had this strange dream again last night. It must relate to Sherman; my thoughts are in that direction, and I know of no other very important event which is likely just now to occur."¹⁵

To his wife Lincoln said, "We have had a hard time of it, but the war is over, and with God's blessing we may hope for four years of peace and happiness." Lincoln looked forward to going back to practicing law, and such were his thoughts on the last day of his life. His little son "Tad" was overcome with grief at his father's death, and asked if his father had gone to Heaven, "for," he added, "he was never happy after he came here; this was not a good place for him."

In the main, it seems that the benignant attitude Lincoln took toward the weak and downtrodden, shown, for instance, in his making the abolition of slavery the slogan for continuing the struggle of the Civil War, was prompted not a little by the more than filial devotion he must have felt for his mother. His willing, often eager desire to pardon infractors of military discipline, unwise, perhaps, for the rigorous exactions of military demands, was born to no little degree from his signal inability to meet some phases of his own personal conflicts (*e.g.*, his wedding day). At times so keen was his desire to pardon that he accepted almost any apparently sincere excuse. In point of fact when this was met with remonstrance, he later came to give little or no explanation for such leniency. He often said that no mother was to be made to suffer any more than the necessity of war required, and not at all through any personal act of his own if he could help it.

From this study, then, it would seem that no small part of Lincoln's depressions was due to certain deep, unconscious fixations or soul attachment to the mother hindering the normal emotional life which in turn made it impossible in early life for him to assume the usual attitude of religious feeling and thought. His early contention that there was no authenticity in the teachings of the Church and his denial of the authority of the Heavenly Father made it impossible for him to accept Christ as an intercessor; hence no religious

¹⁵ Francis R. Browne, *Everyday Life of Lincoln*, p. 583.

consolation could be obtained. There being only a conviction of sin without real repentance, such an attitude could gain for its possessor no release in religious devotion. As Lamon¹⁰ rightly contended, such a character might force himself to be merry or find relief in a jest; gratified ambition might elevate his feelings and give him ease for a time, but solid, abiding comfort could come only through a conscious sense of an indwelling of the spirit, which was finally shown in the true religious conversion Lincoln experienced after his son's death. Although it may be but casually mentioned that the intense unconscious fixation upon his mother made Lincoln's character chivalrous, upright and tender toward all human suffering, yet it stood in the way or prevented the love and acceptance of Christ, the true intermediary to God. Many religiously inclined neurotics and psychotics realize dimly the truth of such a soul defect from which they suffer and pass their days in dolorous lamentation of their inability to fully believe. One might venture to say that in such a dilemma the parental image being so fixed neither the love of Christ, nor an adult love so necessary for a satisfactory marriage, is possible. One may say that in consequence not only is the adult marriage unstable and often unsatisfactory owing to the continual seeking for the perfect love, or "Elysium" as Lincoln himself expressed it, but the love-pursuit is often continued outside the main object of attachment. Biographers have shown that Lincoln was even greatly enamoured of his wife's cousin and several other women. In many less honorable characters the unconscious quest for lovers of one sort or another is the common rule and the bane of their existence. One cannot doubt that the nagging attitude of Mrs. Lincoln was in no small degree an unconscious protest to the incompleteness of her love endowment in the marriage tie. If a religious sublimation was the final happy compromise in Lincoln's life, what fardels of heartache and personal conflicts might he not have saved himself in accepting an early and true religious conversion. Such a protection has often been urged by advocates of the Christian faith, a possession often devoutly wished for by both the patient and physician when once a profound melancholia has befallen the victim.

We note that State rights—the right of a State to secede from the Union—was the first concern of all statesmen of the period before the war and even in the first year of the conflict. Lincoln, even two years after the war had begun, answered Greeley: "My

¹⁰ Ward H. Lamon, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 504.

paramount object is to save the Union and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it. If I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that."¹⁷ Even at a much earlier period he had held that "the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils." Again, at a much earlier period when discussing the thirteenth amendment of the Constitution, Lincoln held that there was no equality of the negro with the whites either in color or in many other respects but in the inalienable rights as human beings they were certainly entitled to everything the white race enjoyed. However, Lincoln gradually discarded the States rights issue for the abolition of slavery. Lincoln was extraordinarily quick to feel the importance of transferring the motive for a long-continued struggle from a more or less academic issue to a keen personal one—one which would fire the popular imagination with glowing emotional warmth and zeal comparable to the slogan in the recent great world war in which the dominant note was to "Make the world free for democracy." Although the grinding life of toil which the downtrodden slave endured must have keenly touched Lincoln's sensitive soul, yet he seems to have taken a less personal interest in the slaves than did many another abolitionist, such as Garrison and the slave runners of the North. No doubt Lincoln was much more concerned with the general principle of freeing all sorts of oppressed peoples, and the slave incidentally. There seems to have been but one instance of Lincoln's close personal contact with the degrading treatment of the negro slaves and that was when he was in the early twenties, at New Orleans. After witnessing some of the debasing spectacles in the slave market, he said, "Boys, let's get away from this. If ever I get a chance to hit that thing (slavery), I'll hit it hard." In his later speeches and utterances he was singularly silent upon the personal brutalities practiced upon the slaves. While no doubt Lincoln sympathized with the sentimental propagandists of abolishing bodily suffering, he devoted himself to expounding the more general cause of human liberty and freedom, which, of course, included the former incidentally. His was a general plan to redress all human wrongs even to extending mercy to those who had been in violent antagonism to the abolition of slavery itself—a difficult and often misunderstood position and which the strict conservatives about Lincoln frequently

¹⁷ Tarbell, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. II, p. 118.

misconstrued. To many men of that memorable period who had been engaged in "force without stint," it seemed that the change which Lincoln's character underwent near the end of the war, after his favorite son's death and subsequent religious conversion, portended weakness rather than strength. It is a matter of history that the war party looked with grave foreboding upon Lincoln's general attitude of a feasible reconstruction. It seemed to many that Lincoln was about to undo the great purpose of the national struggle in allowing the South to go free from final punishment. Even in the last cabinet meeting before his assassination Lincoln showed his intent to deal leniently and fairly with the erring South when he said, "I shall bear no hate or vindictiveness toward the South. The worst of them we must frighten out of the country, let down the bars and scare them off."

On the basis of the interesting results revealed in this application of the newer dynamic psychology to an analysis of the personality of Lincoln, one may say that intensive psychological studies should be made of great national characters to throw as much light as possible upon the part which they may have played as well as to determine what influence their personal conflicts and motives may have had upon shaping the national events which they directed. Only by this broad cooperation of psychology and history are we likely to arrive at a comprehensive historical interpretation of the dominating personalities of any period.¹⁸

¹⁸ I want to extend my thanks to Prof. J. Harvey Robinson and Prof. Harry E. Barnes for their critical suggestions in preparing the manuscript.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE POSSIBLE SERVICE OF ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY TO HISTORY*

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I. PSYCHOLOGY AND THE NEWER HISTORY

I am sure that all who have listened to Dr. Clark's suggestive and stimulating paper will agree that its main significance lies in the fact that it constitutes one more striking symptom of that promising tendency towards a closer coöperation between history and psychology.¹ Surely no one could have failed to realize how superficial have been those earlier attempts to analyze the personality of Lincoln which have been based wholly upon popular psychological concepts and premises or, still worse, have founded their interpretations upon transcendental ethics or orthodox theology. The concrete data presented by Dr. Clark is of the utmost historical value and will contribute very greatly to a better understanding of the psychology of this remarkable American who did so much to shape national policy during five of the most critical years of our history. No doubt there will still be those who will trace Lincoln's hatred of slavery back to the victory of Arminius over the Romans in the Teutoberg Forest, to the universal impulse to liberty from the Teutonic Folkmoor, to the Magna Carta—that alleged harbinger and bulwark of all subsequent liberal sentiments, or to the Conciliar Movement, but most of us will welcome with genuine relief a system of individual psychology which will throw some light upon the fundamental background of human reactions to those basic problems of order and liberty, of authority and rebellion.

It would seem, then, that, important as are the pertinent details concerning the personality of Lincoln which Dr. Clark has brought

* Discussion of Dr. Clark's paper on Lincoln at the meeting of the New York Psychiatric Society, March 5, 1919.

¹ For a more comprehensive review of the development of the newer point of view in history see J. H. Robinson's *The New History* and the article on "History: Its Rise and Development" in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia Americana*. I have sought to present the relation between the newer history and psychology in an article on "Psychology and History" in the *American Journal of Psychology* for October, 1919.

out, even more significant are the general methods and premises involved—the assumption, indeed, that a national hero such as Lincoln could have had any “psychology.” A generation ago such a mode of approach would have been inconceivable when, according to the psychology of innate ideas, the first cry of the infant symbolized the inborn desire of man for political liberty, or when, according to the rising science of anthropogeography in the works of Ritter and Ratzel, man was represented as merely the most nimble element in the earth’s crust. The last thirty years have witnessed the rise of a radically different mechanism for viewing the problems of the human personality. The experimental psychology of the laboratory has developed a more scientific technique for investigation and a wholly new set of categories for understanding the human mind, which vary from the introspection of Titchener to the bald behaviorism of Watson. Sociology and social psychology have shown that the concept of environmental influences must be extended to include not only physiographic, but also economic, social, political and intellectual forces. To a very considerable extent the newer dynamic psychiatry has represented an attempt at a synthesis of these newer points of view.² The prolonged individual analysis gives ample scope to a real inductive introspection; the stress laid upon the element of individual experience serves to emphasize the influence of the social environment; while the view of life as a problem of adjustment is in harmony with a broad philosophy of behaviorism. It is in this latter sense that the newer interpretation of history finds itself in harmony with the new psychology. History can no longer be regarded as a succession of attempts of the world-spirit to impose itself in different manifestations upon a reluctant humanity, but must be viewed as a continually shifting process of social adjustment to new sets of environing influences and interests. The fact that this shifting or readjustment has been more rapid and more marked in the last century than in the preceding fifty millenniums undoubtedly constitutes the cause for the vast increase in mental breakdowns on the part of those unable to meet the unusual strain.

According to these newer views, the great statesman must be regarded as the product of the near perfect adjustment between the fundamental social, economic and political conditions and tend-

² For a survey of Freudian psychology from this point of view see the brief but judicious article on “Freudianism” by H. M. Kallen in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia Americana*. See also G. S. Hall’s introduction to the English edition of Freud’s *Psychoanalysis*.

encies of his time and the personality that best expresses these forces and can gather his adherents in a concerted attempt to realize their mutual ambitions. Both the stimulating environment and the personality which responds must be provided to make the ideal statesman. Without a pressing need for a strong central government, Alexander Hamilton could not have functioned as he did, and only a strong economic impulse to states-rights and individualism could call forth and make use of a Thomas Jefferson. Yet we cannot well imagine that with their environment and interests reversed Hamilton could have led a negative state-rights party, or Jefferson the party favoring a great extension of governmental authority. It is in this respect that the type of approach outlined in Dr. Clark's paper constitutes a real methodological advance in the study of history. The truly objective political historians, such as Osgood, George Louis Beer, Sydney George Fisher, Andrews and Alvord have at last secularized the study of American history, once sanctified by Bancroft, Palfrey and their kind. Other penetrating students, such as McMaster, Turner, Beard, Dodd, Becker and Bogart have followed these and have indicated the great importance of social forces and economic interests in American historical development. The works of this latter school, in particular, have made it difficult for even the newer variety of ideologues and theologues, such as Professors E. D. Adams and Shailer Matthews,³ to conceal certain mundane traces left by the Holy Spirit as it swept over the American continent, leaving its traces in turnpikes, canals, public land scandals, slave plantations, state-banks, frontier lynchings, railroad-owned legislators, monopolized natural resources, and free-silver and agrarian agitation. This was a most important task which required no less courage than insight. What is now needed is to supplement this study of fundamental environmental influences in history by an analysis of the leading personalities who were called forth by the conditions of their time and furnished the leadership which was necessary to give coherence and political expression to the forces and interests struggling for recognition and domination. To risk the charge of sacrilege by analyzing the personalities which the historical epic in America has crowned with an hitherto inviolable halo will require even more courage than to present an

³ Cf. E. D. Adams, *The Power of Ideals in American History*; Shailer Matthews, *The Spiritual Interpretation of History*. Dr. Matthews does, however, give considerable recognition to material and social factors. Cf. his *Theology and the Social Mind*.

economic interpretation of the Constitution. In witness of this, one might refer to the case of one Paul Haffer who was reported to have been convicted of criminal libel on December 29, 1916, and sentenced to four months in jail for having asserted that Washington occasionally cast a glance at the reddening wine and looked with envy upon the maid-servant of his neighbor.

2. SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Before speaking of the bearing which the new dynamic psychology has upon the analysis of the personality of leading statesmen and politicians, it might briefly be asserted that the mechanisms of modern psychiatry will also serve to throw much light upon those general policies and attitudes which have played a dominating part in our national history. Especially important in this respect is the application to mass psychology of some of the best known Freudian mechanisms. The significance of this line of approach will be apparent from the citation of a few obvious fields where its application seems likely to be fruitful. How far, for example, was the austere impurity complex of the "glacial age" of New England Puritanism a psychic compensation for economic chicanery in smuggling and the rum-trade? How far were the philosophical discussions and oratorical tirades concerning liberty, natural rights and revolution in the period following 1765 a compensation for the prevailing system of smuggling? It cannot be without significance that the leading haranguer for liberty in Boston was fed and clothed by the leading smuggler, nor that the most conspicuous name on the Declaration of Independence was that of the most notorious violator of the customs regulations. Again, it would be interesting to know why the public statements of the leading colonial radicals indicate that their fundamental loyalty to Great Britain grew progressively more intense until about July 1, 1776. It has long been suspected and recently been proved that the legalistic arguments over nationalism and states-rights during the first decade of our national history were but the rhetorical drapery which covered the economic interests from which Hamilton and Jefferson drew their supporters. Again, was not Southern chivalry a collective compensation for sexual looseness, racial intermixture and the maltreatment of the negro? Or, again, as Professor Hankins has suggested, did not the abolitionist zeal of the New England deacons pleasantly obscure the fact that they and their fathers had gained their fortunes from the rum trade with the negroes of the West Indies? Again, were Thad

Stevens and his group more eager to preserve the "natural rights" of the southern negro in the Fourteenth Amendment than were John A. Bingham and his associates to protect thereby the northern corporation's "nigger in the woodpile"? And is the present-day frenzied adulation of the sanctity and fixity of the constitution anything more than a concerted effort to protect and conserve the vested interests that have grown up under the protection of that document and its interpretations? Can one well doubt that the elaborate opinions of the Supreme Court in substantiation of its grotesque extension of the Fourteenth Amendment to protect the vested interests and to obstruct progressive legislation and constructive labor policies, through such decisions as those in the case of *Lochner vs. New York* and the *Hitchman Case*, are anything more than a disguise and a secondary rationalization to conceal or dignify its economic sympathies? Is it not most probable that the noble struggle of Judge Gary for the fundamental principles of American liberty and the eternal rights of man in the name of the "open shop" is but a lame effort to arouse public support for an attempt to preserve intact a system of industrial oppression that has been unsparingly criticized in the report of so moderate and distinctly capitalistic an organization as the Interchurch World Movement? Is not the unwillingness of the capitalistic press to publish adequate accounts of movements and events favorable to socialistic and labor groups analogous to the tendency of the individual to ignore or obscure painful experiences? Certainly the studies made by the *New Republic* of the news accounts of the *New York Times* covering the Bolshevik régime in Russia and the recent steel strike reveal something very similar to the defensive mechanism of the neurotic patient in avoiding painful or distasteful facts and experiences—in other words, dodging reality.

Even more promising, of course, will be the application of the new psychology to the interpretation of the personal traits of the leading figures in our history. Dr. Clark's analysis of Lincoln is but an indication of the probability that few important statesmen can be found who will not yield ample material for scientific analysis, to the greater clarification of the motives for their public acts and the better understanding of their personal characteristics. Washington, with his unusual "Jehovah complex" combining Olympic detachment with a Jacksonian temper; the prodigious lust of Hamilton for the development of an authoritative political system; the inferiority and anti-authority complexes of Jefferson with their

extensive elaboration and justification in ten thick volumes of letters and public documents; the remarkable development of a "spotless soul" in James Monroe after his part in many questionable episodes such as the violation of his word in the publication of the Reynolds' documents; the "Jehovah Complex" and the sadism of Andrew Jackson, who was so intolerant of opposition as to be unable to complete a sentence in public debate without choking with anger; the love that Douglas possessed for union and authority which led him to break with the secession element in his party; Conkling's inflated ego and intense vanity which made it possible for the "Turkey-Gobbler" epithet to defeat and nearly wreck the Republican party; the "psychosis of sanctimony" which could bear the Crusader from Lincoln, Nebraska, unabashed through the slough of agrarianism and free-silver; the remarkable combination in Roosevelt of a Hamiltonian zeal for the "Big Stick" with an almost Jeffersonian sensitiveness to public opinion; and the universally admitted enigma of our present chief executive—these are but a few of the interesting cases where the new psychiatry can doubtless contribute very greatly to the more complete mastery of American history. Finally, it should be noted that modern dynamic psychology proves that different methods and standards must be adopted in interpretative historical biography if it is to be more than a contribution to descriptive literature. Vital biography must deal with those intimate features of private life which reveal the deeper complexes in the personality, and cannot content itself with a superficial presentation of certain objective achievements nor accept as valid expressions of doctrine which may be only elaborate forms of disguise or extended secondary rationalization. In particular, special attention must be given to childhood experiences, for it is a cardinal fact of analytical psychology that the complexes which determine the major outlines of personal conduct are formed and largely fixed during the period of childhood and adolescence.

3. THE PERSONAL TRAITS AND PUBLIC POLICIES OF HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON IN THE LIGHT OF PSYCHOLOGY

At Dr. Clark's suggestion I shall conclude my comments with a brief sketch of the light which the newer psychology throws upon the statesmen who shaped our early national policy—Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. It was these two men who set in motion, through their leadership of contending interests, the forces and tendencies which broke into active conflict in the period of Lin-

coln. The general setting of the problem is well-known, namely, Hamilton's immoderate love of order and authority and his persistent attempt to bring this ambition into realization, and Jefferson's hatred of authority, his sense of inferiority before the public, and his abnormal sensitiveness to public opinion. About all that is needed is to state the well-known facts and allow them to be translated into psychological terminology. The major outlines of the fundamentally different attitudes of Hamilton and Jefferson have been admirably summarized by Professor J. P. Gordy in the following paragraph:

The idea for which Jefferson stood was the precise opposite of that which constituted the ruling principle of Hamilton's political life. The ruling idea of Hamilton was his love of justice, stability, and order; the ruling idea of Jefferson was his love of liberty and his belief in its practicability to a greater extent and on a larger scale than the world has ever seen. The one thought the supreme need of society was a government strong enough and intelligent enough to enforce justice and preserve order; the other regarded liberty, and a government too weak to curtail it, as the supreme political good. The one saw in the anarchical tendencies of the states and of the ignorant classes of society the greatest danger that confronted the new government; the other saw in the tendency of all governments to govern in the interests of a class the greatest danger that confronted the American people, and in the jealousy of the state governments "a precious reliance" against despotism. Hamilton, despite his fundamental allegiance to order, was devoted to liberty, but he thought the centrifugal tendencies of society were so powerful that liberty would degenerate into anarchy unless it should be kept in bounds by a strong government—a government in which the intelligent and property-loving classes be given so large a share of power that they could be used as a dike against the rising tide of democracy. Jefferson, despite his passion for liberty, was a friend of stability. But he believed that stability would grow into tyranny unless it should be entrusted to the intelligent self-interest of the masses. The one thought it better to risk the tyranny of a strong central government—though he would have diminished the danger as much as possible by giving to the representative of the masses the power to veto any law—than to put order and stability in jeopardy; the other would risk the anarchical tendencies of a weak central government rather than endanger liberty. The thought of the one was constantly dwelling upon the turbulence of democracy, upon the necessity of erecting barriers against popular tumults; the other asserted that "whenever our affairs go obviously wrong the good sense of the people will interpose and set them right."⁴

Such is the problem stated in its "manifest content"; let us see what a psychological analysis reveals.

When one keeps in mind the party interests which each repre-

⁴ J. P. Gordy, *Political History of the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 132-3.

sented, it is not difficult to see why they emerged as leaders. In the Federalist party were the capitalistic and commercial classes who wanted a strong and stable national government, to protect business, restore credit and give firmness and permanence to the industrial order. In the Jeffersonian Republican party were the agrarian interests—those who desired to dodge debts and taxes, wanted free trade, and a weak and economically conducted central government. In the doctrines of states-rights, strict interpretation of the constitution and the blessings of liberty and democracy they found the shibboleths under which to mask their deeper aims and interests.⁵ It would be manifestly futile to search for the deeper motives in this contest in the legalistic arguments over the interpretation of the constitution. As Hamilton himself once expressed this point in quite a different context, "The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged for among old parchments or musty records. They are written, as with a sunbeam, in the whole volume of human nature, by the hand of the divinity itself, and can never be erased or obscured by mortal power."

It is obvious that the successful leader of the Federalist had to be a man deeply imbued with a loyalty to the ideal of extensive authority and one who would boldly face, indeed, even anticipate, reality and create out of the chaos of the contemporary anarchy of the Confederation a coherent and powerful national state. A man better adapted to meeting this emergency than Alexander Hamilton could scarcely be imagined.⁶ There is no large volume of facts extant with regard to Hamilton's childhood, but such details as are known clearly indicate that his youth was spent under conditions ideally adapted to the production of a dynamic and constructive character, searching out after and conquering, rather than retiring from, reality. So loose was the family tie in Hamilton's case that there was a persistent rumor that he was an illegitimate child. That sainted New Englander, John Adams, in a letter to Jefferson in 1813, graciously and generously referred to the departed statesman as "the bastard brat of a Scotch peddler." The facts appear to be

⁵ Cf. C. A. Beard, *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, and *Some Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*; O. G. Libby, *Geographical Distribution of the Votes on the Constitution in 1787-8*.

⁶ For the details as to Hamilton's parentage and personal characteristics see Allen McLane Hamilton, *The Intimate Life of Alexander Hamilton*, chaps. i-ii; John Church Hamilton, *Life of Alexander Hamilton*; F. S. Oliver, *Alexander Hamilton*, pp. 15 ff.

that his mother left her first husband, whom she had been forced to marry against her will, and lived in conjugal relations with Hamilton's father until after Hamilton's birth, without having been able to secure a divorce from her first husband. The charge of illegitimacy was stressed chiefly by slanderous enemies. Yet it is true that Hamilton knew little of the normal family life. His mother died when he was but eleven years of age. His father's business failures threw Alexander upon the support of his mother's family. His contact with his father was very slight from that time onward and offered no opportunity for male parental domination and the development of that anti-authority complex which distinguishes the ardent apostle of liberty. Indeed, all of his biographers note Hamilton's unusual affection for his father, of whom, significantly, he had seen so little. This continued down to his father's death in 1799 and he frequently tried to get his father to come and live with him. By his mother's family he was treated from the first as "a little man" and was quickly put into touch with the practical problems of reality by being placed as a clerk in the warehouse of Nicholas Cruger, a merchant of St. Croix. A letter written to a boyhood friend while a clerk indicates the early appearance of the positive disposition which characterized Hamilton's entire career:

To confess my weakness, Ned, my ambition is prevalent, so that I condemn the grovelling conditions of a clerk or the like, to which my fortune, etc., condemns me, and would willingly risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my station. I am confident, Ned, that my youth excludes me from any hopes of immediate preferment; nor do I desire it; but I mean to prepare the way for futurity. I'm no philosopher, you see, and may justly be said to build castles in the air; my folly makes me ashamed, and I beg you'll conceal it; yet, Neddy, we have seen such schemes successful when the projector is constant. I shall conclude saying, I wish there was a war.

His aggressive and creative faculties from his youth on put him in the forefront of those who were confronting with courage and resolution the stern realities of the Revolutionary and "critical" periods. It is significant that at first Hamilton opposed revolution and aligned himself with the Loyalist element, and, that when a visit to Boston had convinced him of the necessity of revolution, he was ever more interested in the creation of a substitute for the political authority of the British Empire than in the assurance of success in the rather negative task of achieving freedom from imperial control. His writings in *Holt's Journal* as early as 1775-6 indicate that he fully sensed the need for a strong union among the

colonies. The record of his fragmentary and private writings during the time that he served as Washington's secretary from 1777 to 1781 indicate that he was sublimating the routine of military life in plans for stronger union and an improved system of national finance. From 1780 to the formation of the constitution he was ever active in agitation for the creation of a strong federal government and a reorganization of the national financial system. Late in 1779, he had addressed an anonymous letter to Robert Morris urging a national bank. In the late summer of 1780 he wrote his famous letter to Duane condemning the prevailing political anarchy and Congressional incompetence and urging the establishment of an effective central government. In the spring of 1781 he sent to Robert Morris an elaborate scheme for a national bank. His writings in the *Continentalist* from February to August, 1781, were bitter criticisms of the Confederation and a plea for union under a powerful common authority. At this early date he had said:

An extreme jealousy of power is the attendant of all popular revolutions. In a government framed for durable liberty, not less regard must be paid to giving the magistrate a proper degree of authority to make and execute the laws with rigor, than to guard against encroachments upon the rights of the community. Societies whose true aim and only security against attack lies in a close political union, must either be firmly united under one government, or there will infallibly arise emulations and quarrels; this is in human nature. There is something noble and magnificent in the perspective of a great federal republic closely linked in the pursuit of a common interest, tranquil and prosperous at home, respectable abroad; but there is something proportionately diminutive and contemptible in the prospect of a number of petty states, with the appearance only of union, jarring, jealous and perverse, without any determined direction, fluctuating and unhappy at home, weak and insignificant by their dissensions in the eyes of other nations. Happy America, if those to whom thou hast entrusted the guardianship of thy infancy know how to provide for thy future repose, but miserable and undone if their negligence or ignorance permits the spirit of discord to erect her banner on the ruins of thy tranquility.⁷

Certainly in 1781, when the country had just required four years to be able to agree upon so feeble a central government as that provided by the Articles of Confederation, nothing seemed more remote from realization than the Hamiltonian dream of a strong federal government, but he threw himself into the struggle with vigor. He worked for unity as a member of the Confederate Congress from

⁷ The Works of Alexander Hamilton, edited by H. C. Lodge, Vol. I, pp. 244, 246, 254, 286-7. This citation has been abridged and arranged.

1782-3 and carried on a correspondence with Washington in which both agreed that heroic measures were imperative if the country was to be saved from anarchy. In 1786 he turned the Annapolis Convention into a preliminary conference demanding the calling of the federal constitutional convention which met in Philadelphia in the summer of the next year. His plan for a new government, delivered in the convention on June 18, 1787, provided for so extreme a form of centralized power that even he himself scarcely hoped that it would be seriously considered, but it helped towards union by making the more practicable schemes appear less terrifying by comparison. Hamilton's magnificent contributions to the cause of the erection of a strong central government through his writings in the *Federalist* are too well-known to require more than a passing reference, while his personal influence was of the utmost importance in inducing New York state to ratify the constitution. As Secretary of the Treasury in Washington's administration and the great constructive statesman of early nationalism, he did more than any other man to establish the power of the central government and make order and stability realized facts rather than shallow aspirations. To a very large degree our strong federal government has been but a collective appropriation of the authority-loving and reality-conquering personality of Alexander Hamilton.⁸

At the opposite pole in his attitude towards political authority was the "Sage of Monticello" who led the forces of negation under the mask of democracy and liberty. The evidence regarding Jefferson's early life is as ample as that concerning Hamilton is scanty. It has been gathered especially by his worshipful biographer, Randall.⁹ The facts reveal a boyhood experience of exactly the type suited to developing an abnormal anti-authority complex. His father, Peter Jefferson, was a gruff giant with a tremendous temper and was reputed to be the strongest man in that part of Virginia. Thomas, a slight and pallid youth, recoiled in horror from the father when the latter was in his fits of anger. As his father

⁸ On this subject see H. J. Ford, *Alexander Hamilton*; W. G. Sumner, *Alexander Hamilton*; and Oliver, *op. cit.*, Books II-III.

⁹ H. S. Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. I, especially pp. 13-17, 33, 41, 62-4. Cf. also James Schouler, *Thomas Jefferson*; and D. S. Muzzey, *Thomas Jefferson*.

It is significant that Jefferson's antipathy to his father was so infantile and deep-seated that it was scarcely ever raised to consciousness. He frequently speaks of his father in his writings in a reverential and awe-inspired attitude. This, of course, made the disguised and substituted forms of outlet for this repressed revulsion all the more vigorous and extreme.

died when Thomas was fourteen years of age, the latter never had an opportunity to bring the "father image" to an adult level and it always remained to him as the towering, impressive, self-reliant parent. He was brought up by his mother along with six sisters. His mother was an eminently feminine type—cheerful, active and sweet-tempered. In none of his letters or writings does Jefferson ever speak of his mother in a rôle of authoritative guidance. For his eldest sister Jefferson developed a remarkable attachment and grieved deeply at her untimely death. In 1762, at the age of nineteen, he made a rather faint-hearted step towards matrimony. He asked a neighborhood belle, a certain Rebecca Burwell, if she would marry him, but stipulated that he would not be ready to wed until he had finished his legal studies and spent an indefinite period abroad. It can scarcely be a cause for surprise to learn that she married another man within the next few months. Ten years later, he screwed up his courage to the point of marrying the widow of a friend. She died in 1782 and Jefferson never remarried. He always found most pleasure in the company of elderly ladies or those with a philosophic tendency—in other words, those old in wisdom.

The major characteristics of Jefferson's character have long been well-known, though they have not been analyzed according to the principles of the newer psychology. First and foremost should be placed his "anti-authority" complex, which was disguised and elaborated in his famous policies and theories of democracy and liberty. This was not a mere objection to political authority, but to all forms of external coercion. In one of his most quoted statements he said: "I have sworn on the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man." His very advanced attitude in regard to religious matters—namely, his total revolt from all authoritative forms and phases of religion—was so universally known as to make the epithet of "Atheist" a favorite campaign slogan of his enemies. While Jefferson was too much of a philosopher to deny the necessity of some form of political control, he would not admit that any legitimate government should curb the natural rights of man; rather he held that the sole function of government was to guarantee those rights which man had brought along with him from the state of nature. To such a personality the contract theory of the origin of government, based on the idea of consenting to authority and maintaining a complete popular control over its operation, was much more congenial than the divine-right doctrine. As might be expected from one with "a

grudge against the Old Gentleman," Jefferson was especially severe in his criticism of the theory that political authority had originated in the patriarchal family—primitive man, he held, had dwelt in near perfect liberty. As might be anticipated, Jefferson obtained a considerable degree of psychic release from this complex by vigorous assaults upon kings, in general, and upon those of contemporary Europe, in particular. Of these most obvious and, to a man of Jefferson's complexes, most repulsive symbolic personifications of authority he said in a typical passage:

While I was in Europe I often amused myself with contemplating the characters of the then reigning monarchs of Europe. Louis XVI was a fool of my own knowledge, and in despite of the answers made for him at his trial. The King of Spain was a fool, and of Naples the same. They passed their lives in hunting and despatched two couriers a week one thousand miles to let each other know what game they had killed on the preceding days. The King of Sardinia was a fool. All these were Bourbons. The Queen of Portugal, a Braganza, was an idiot by nature, and so was the King of Denmark. Their sons as regents exercised the powers of government. The King of Prussia, successor to the Great Frederick, was a mere hog in body as well as in mind. Gustavus of Sweden, and Joseph of Austria were really crazy, and George of England, you know, was in a straight waistcoat. There remained, then, none but old Catherine, who had been too lately picked up to have lost her common sense. In this state Bonaparte found Europe, and it was this state of its rulers which lost it with scarce a struggle. These animals had become without mind and powerless, and so will every hereditary monarch be after a few generations. Alexander, the son of Catherine, is as yet an exception. He is able to hold his own. But he is only of the third generation. His race is not yet worn out. (However, Jefferson lived to see Alexander become as unbalanced mentally as any of the monarchs mentioned above, unless it be George III.) And so endeth the Book of Kings, from all of whom may the Lord deliver us.¹⁰

Government, Jefferson held, must not only be conducted so that the majority will be free from the tyranny of the one or the few, but also so that the majority can never illegally oppress the minority. Like Tom Paine he would have no unlimited domination over any part of the citizens. Not only would Jefferson severely limit the governmental authority, but he would also decentralize it and give the widest powers to the local units. "It is," he said, "by dividing and sub-dividing these republics, from the great national one down through all its subordinations, until it ends in the administration of

¹⁰ The Works of Thomas Jefferson, Washington edition, Vol. V, p. 514. As a classified guide to Jefferson's thinking Foley's Jeffersonian Encyclopedia is indispensable.

every man's farm by himself; by placing under each one what his own eye may superintend that all will be done for the best." Not only would Jefferson limit and decentralize government, but as an added protection he would provide for a systematic revision of the constitution every nineteen years, so that no generation should be governed by the rules of the preceding—symbolically, perhaps, so that the child might escape from the authority of the parent! Finally, if all these limitations upon authority did not suffice, Jefferson suggested that "a little rebellion now and then is a good thing" and that the "tree of liberty should occasionally be refreshed with the blood of tyrants." Jefferson was so insistent upon maintaining a permanent organ for criticizing the government that he once contended that it was better to have newspapers without a government than a government without a free and fearless press. And, again, is it not quite possible that Jefferson's well-known aversion to the judiciary was due as much to his instinctive dislike of the political organ or department most generally identified with the maintenance of law and authority as to his personal dislike of John Marshall? Then, it can scarcely be doubted that Jefferson's advocacy of entrusting a greater degree of authority to the people—in other words, his defence of democracy against aristocracy—was quite as much motivated by his hatred of the centralization and extension of authority, especially in the hand of his Federalist opponents, as by any love of the masses, whom he certainly did not trust except when they chose a man with the wisdom of Thomas Jefferson to guide their destinies with safety and moderation. In a very real sense the Jeffersonian democracy can be regarded as an elaborate disguise and secondary rationalization of his innate revolt against authority and it is as accurate to say that American democracy may be traced back to the recoil of the pallid youth of Shadwell from his gigantic and formidable father as to hold that it derives its origin from the Teutonic folk-moot or opposition to the political and economic program of Hamilton.

With the preceding brief review of Jefferson's attitude towards authority in mind it is not difficult to understand his part in American political life—his work as a radical Revolutionist in 1776 and the enthusiasm with which he evened up the old score with his father by striking off the memorable list of grievances against George III; his teaching of theoretical and practical revolution to the French; his leadership of the opposition to Hamilton's program of centralization and the extension of political authority; his threat

of nullification in the Kentucky Resolutions; and his inability as President to take a firm and consistent attitude towards the pressing problems of his time. It has, of course, been alleged that his purchase of Louisiana was a greater extension of governmental authority than any of Hamilton's acts. While this may, perhaps, be so in a legal sense it is not so from the standpoint of the psychology of authority; the addition of Louisiana may have been a severe strain on the constitution, but it involved no extension of repressive political authority. Indeed, it may well have been regarded by Jefferson as a move to insure greater liberty. He once said that he believed that liberty and democracy could endure only in a state predominantly agricultural, and perhaps he felt that by adding thousands of square miles of virgin territory he was insuring the existence of another century of American liberty.

Along with Jefferson's violent reaction against authority, should be put the complex which frequently accompanies this attitude, namely, the ever-evident feeling of inferiority. It is well-known that he was a miserable public speaker; that he avoided delivering speeches when possible and, when he could not escape, read them in an ineffective manner; that as Vice-President he drew up the first elaborate manual of parliamentary procedure in this country in order to avoid being called upon to make sudden decisions unaided in face of a crowd. Unable to meet the public directly from the platform he turned to letter-writing and party organization by intrigue and instigation. As a letter writer no other man in American public life has at all approached him. He showed himself a master of intrigue and shrewd insinuation, of subtle flattery and compelling powers of suggestion. And his ever active tendency towards distrust, suspicion and misgivings led him, even in the days before the typewriter and carbon-paper, to make exact copies of the twenty-five thousand letters that his editors estimate that he wrote during his lifetime. Again, this type of mind is particularly inclined towards finding hidden and invidious motives in the acts of opponents and, accordingly, it was not difficult for him to imagine Hamilton and John Adams planning a coup d'état to establish a monarchy and insure the rule of the "rich and well-born" or to believe that Hamilton must have been in league with the profiteers that speculated in national securities during the early days of financial reconstruction. Further, this Jeffersonian type of personality is invariably unduly sensitive to public opinion and is guided by such pressure, if indeed its ultra-sensitiveness does not enable it to antici-

pate slightly the trends in the popular mind and adapt its policies accordingly. It is to this quality that most students of the period usually ascribe Jefferson's great powers as a political leader. Mr. Morse says of this trait in Jefferson:

He never missed an opportunity of dropping his plummet into the mighty depths beneath the upper classes; and if he discovered their profound currents to be in accord with his own tendencies, as he always expected and generally did, he refreshed his weary spirit with the instinctive anticipation that these would control the course of the country at no distant time. Herein lay his deep wisdom; he enjoyed a political vision penetrating deeper down into the inevitable movement of popular government, and further forward into the future trend of free institutions than was possessed by any other man in public life in his day.¹¹

It is easy to understand how a man with these traits joined to one of the most superb intellects in American history became the most astute political leader of the organizing and instigative type in the history of American government.

It is not supposed that this brief psychological analysis of the opposing characters or personalities of Jefferson and Hamilton—or rather this hasty review of the well-known facts that reveal their personalities—will in any way lessen the value of the analysis of the general social and economic environment which furnished them with the appropriate forces to lead, but it may help in some slight degree to explain why they emerged as leaders and took the positions that they did, and it may indicate that these two basic character types, so familiar to the psychologist, left an unalterable impression upon the formative period of our country's political institutions.

¹¹J. T. Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*, pp. 115-16.

A PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF MANIC DEPRESSIVE PSYCHOSES

BY LUCILE DOOLEY

This study was undertaken primarily with a view to determining whether or not psychoanalysis could be applied to the severe cases of manic depressive psychosis with beneficial results. The psychoanalytic literature dealing with this psychosis is discouragingly meagre. Karl Abraham in an article published in the *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, 1912,¹ reported several cases of depression which he had treated with success. Stekel in an article published soon after² on the Terminations of Psychoanalytic Treatments observes that the results are usually unfavorable in manic-depressive cases. Hoch, in his *Study of the Benign Psychoses*,³ gave an analysis of the manic-depressive character, pointing out the psychological factors involved in developing the attack and indicating the manner of approach to the problem. Following this work, Campbell⁴ and Clark⁵ published brief psychoanalytical studies of cases calling attention to the relation of the psychotic behavior to the previous emotional experience of the patient. Clark felt that analysis was in most of his cases an effective therapeutic measure, applied either in the depressed or the normal interval. Other writers have from time to time called attention to the wishfulfilling unconscious mechanism at the basis of the psychosis. The cases reported, however, are as yet too few to encourage the psychoanalyst to attack this form of mental disorder with the same hopeful and free spirit which he brings to the neuroses, psychoneuroses and even to schizophrenia.

¹ Abraham, Karl, *Ansätze zur psychoanalytischen Erforschung und Behandlung des Manisch-Depressiven Irreseins und verwandte Zustände*, *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, B. II, No. 6.

² Stekel, W., *Terminations of Psychoanalytic Treatment*, *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, B. III.

³ Hoch, August, *Study of the Benign Psychoses*, *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, May, 1915.

⁴ Campbell, C. M., *On the Mechanism of some cases of Manic Depressive Excitement*, *Medical Record*, New York, 1914.

⁵ Clark, L. P., *Some Therapeutic Considerations of Periodic Mental Depression*, *Medical Record*, New York, 1918.

The difficulties in the way of the analytic procedure are many and the results doubtful and this is especially true where the prevailing type of disorder is the manic phase. A majority of the cases reported have dealt with depressions. In the depressed phase the patient is listless and may be mute and thus is rendered inaccessible by his lack of ability to bring his own thoughts to bear on the problems set by the analysis. In the manic phase, his volubility, flight of ideas and inability to fix his attention for more than a moment make true analysis impossible, though close observation will reveal much of the inner content of his mind, knowledge of which can later be used for analysis. In the normal intervals which usually occur in manic-depressive cases, the whole difficulty, with the thoughts and feelings of the disturbed period, is repressed from consciousness, and the patient has a decided aversion to recalling any part of it. A powerful resistance, both voluntary and involuntary is met with. The personality of the manic depressive individual also presents an obstacle. Those who manifest frequent manic attacks are likely to be headstrong, self-sufficient, know-it-all types of persons who will not take suggestion or yield to direction. They are "doers" and managers, and will get the upper hand of the analyst and everyone else around them if given an opportunity. They welcome the analyst because he gives them a chance to talk about themselves but have little idea of improving the opportunity for their own cure. The transference seems good but the analyst is really only an appendage to the greatly inflated ego. One of my patients remarked, illustrating this: "I like Dr. D. because she is the only person who will let me talk all I want to."

When the patient is depressed his hopelessness and feelings of unworthiness prevent his making much effort, even when the psychomotor retardation is overcome. Moreover the conflicts which distress this class of patients appear so deep-seated, so intimately bound up with the very springs of his mental life, that there is danger in meddling with his repressions. A suicide in a depressed patient, even a homicide in a manic, may be the result of incautious delvings into his inner life. He cannot face himself when seen in the mirror of analysis, and must have his repressions, his self-concealments. The successful cases have not been the most severe, and probably have been mostly persons whose education fitted them to cooperate in analysis. They were able to objectify their difficulties to a certain extent.

The cases selected for report here did not present very promising

material from a therapeutic standpoint. They are people of middle age, little educated, with the exception of two who had a sort of finishing school education, with narrow and rigid outlook on life. It was difficult for them to grasp the simplest concepts of psychoanalytical science, such as the concept of the unconscious, of conflict, and of repression. The religious beliefs of several made them hostile to these ideas and because they had long ceased to be plastic, they did not readily change their habits of thought. Three out of the five patients here reported had a history of previous attacks. The time that has elapsed since the work was done is insufficient to show whether or not seeming improvement will be permanent. All but one of the cases showed that analysis had some effect, as I believe the appended histories will prove.

A second purpose of this study was to trace the symptoms of the psychosis back to phases of character development and to the specific crises in the lives of the patients where the arrest of emotional growth occurred. This has been done in general by many writers but few have reported in detail on the manic cases. It has been said that the manic is distractible and at the mercy of his environment, and this is true, yet the majority of the things he says and does are more intimately related to the underlying ideas and feelings that distress him than to anything in his external environment. In spite of his "flight into reality" (White, *Outlines of Psychiatry*, pp. 127, 128) he seldom, so far as my observation of cases goes, gets away from his grievance. He talks of it in hints and references, even though he does it in a disguisingly hilarious manner. In giving these cases I have not expected to bring out anything new in the psychology of the manic but only to increase the amount of published data on the subject, confirming the view that this psychosis also is a result of mental or emotional conflict and repression, being of the compensatory type. The manic in his excitement speaks out quite frankly the wish that is kept out of even his secret conscious thought at other times. It is this frankness that contributes the most valuable support to the psychoanalytic theories and as such is perhaps worth reporting.

Case 1.—This woman, fifty-four years of age, had her first psychosis, a manic attack, thirty years ago. Other attacks, of both manic and depressive phase, followed at intervals of from one to fifteen years, while for the last eight years previous to 1919, excitements have occurred annually with occasional depressions and brief remissions. She has had three admissions to this Hospital, the last in 1912, and three admissions to a private sanitarium.

The patient comes of a good family, though always poor, and has great pride of ancestry. Other mental disease in the family is not on record, save that several relatives are eccentric. Her parents were not happy together, the father being Protestant, the mother Catholic, which was a source of mental suffering to the patient. One sister is an unstable character, has been twice unhappily married, and is suspected of intemperance. The mother, who had hypertrichosis like that of the patient, died of cancer of the breast at the age of fifty-five. The father was dissipated in early life and died of heart disease at sixty.

The patient was a delicate, much-petted child, the only one for the first eight years of her life, the two preceding her having died in infancy. She received much attention from a large circle of relatives and from her playmates who were all older than herself. Besides the usual diseases of childhood she had pneumonia and at one time a fractured clavicle. From her second to her fifth year she suffered frequently from nausea at night and was therefore allowed to sleep with her father in order to be cared for. It seems likely that the attacks became psychogenic for the purpose of continuing this pleasure. She had difficulty in learning to speak plainly and to overcome this had lessons in phonetics. The mother was strict and the father often protected her from punishment, hence her early attachment to him was stronger, but in adolescence she grew closer to her mother and was torn between the two, as they did not agree. Menses were established at eleven with dysmenorrhea. She got the idea that she was the only person thus afflicted and welcomed this new addition to the rôle of suffering she fancied herself destined to play because of her frequent illnesses and the amount of attention they attracted. She had no adequate sex instruction and obtained what was practically her first knowledge from listening to a sermon on the *Incarnation*, when she was twenty years old. The facts there disclosed filled her with amazement, but also with a sense of gratification that she had at last got hold of vital truths. She did not consider the sermon too broad. She never would acknowledge that she had any unsatisfied curiosity, but the fancies and speculations expressed during her psychosis indicated that she had. In a former paper I spoke of the effect on the emotional development of the child of timely and adequate sex instruction. None of the cases reported here had such instruction.

The patient felt that her mother neglected her in her early years because of grief for the loss of a little brother who died of enteritis.

She has herself had frequent attacks of enteritis. She reports several attacks of bladder trouble for which she was treated in early life and describes them as resembling an attack her father had when she was seven years old. Evidence of her early fixation upon her father comes out in her memories of her childhood. She was born just at the close of the Civil War and hence heard much of the controversy between North and South. Her mother's people were Southern in sympathy; she heard many war stories from her maternal uncle, and, as her father said little, she supposed him to be southern also. When she learned that he had fought for the Union, she cried with disappointment, and her mother told her father of her feeling. This turned the child's sympathies the other way; she tried to make up for her Southern sympathy by lavishing devotion on him and came to regard his sword and his blue uniform with exaggerated reverence. The sword takes its place later among her phallic symbols as does the flagpole on the lawn—reported as her earliest memory—on which the flag was raised each morning and lowered each evening. The attachment of the phallic symbol to the father was perhaps brought about the earlier by his illness mentioned above, during which she was in his room constantly and even assisted the nurse by holding the urinal for him.

She had a governess until the age of nine and then attended private schools, graduating at eighteen with honors. She was considered unusually bright. Her father was an Under-Secretary in Washington and allowed her to assist him in his clerical work. She took a great deal of interest in political and diplomatic matters, had many friends in official circles and acquired considerable culture of a superficial sort.

Her mother's health failed when the patient was about fourteen and the child took on much of the responsibility of housekeeping. In addition to this she had the care of her grandfather who was very deaf. When she grew tired and unwell her father intervened, as usual, to relieve her. She became more than ordinarily dependent upon his guidance and care, followed his hygienic prescriptions and took great pleasure in doing this. So great was her attachment to her father that one of her suitors clearly recognized in him his real and powerful rival.

In the autumn of 1889, when she was twenty-three years old, she was tired and nervous, so was sent by her father to visit relatives in W—. She lays special stress on the fact that she went thither at her father's desire, in order to fasten on him responsibility

for what happened. Here she became engaged to, or rather arrived at an informal understanding with a distant cousin, Henry, with whose family she was staying. They were not altogether congenial; he was ten years older than herself and had many peculiarities of character which made a happy union between them doubtful. She thought he resembled her mother with whom she had never got on easily. On the other hand she felt that Henry was not appreciated by others and wanted to make it up to him. He suffered with indigestion and had to have special food prepared, a service sometimes neglected by his family. His sister made up for her negligence at times by giving him milk toddies, which the patient thinks was directly responsible for his subsequent intemperance.

One Sunday morning early in November she went with Henry for a horseback ride to Y—. A heavy storm came up, her horse became frightened and bolted. She was thrown, and, as it appeared later, her back was injured. When her cousin came up she was sitting beside the road trying to put up her hair, but was unable to control her hands. She was dazed and did not know how she got there, as she knew she was thrown on the *other* side of the road. He helped her up to her horse and she managed to ride back to Y— but continued in a confused state not seeing or feeling clearly. At some point before remounting she thinks she roused to find her head resting on her cousin's breast. They rested at Y— for a short time, then returned in a buggy. She was very faint during the ride and her cousin supported her with his arm much of the time, although she attempted at intervals to sit erect. She is in painful doubt as to what might have happened while she was semi-conscious. Reaching home a little after dark she went at once to her room, while Henry was met at the door by a messenger calling him away on important business. Hence he failed to explain the incident as she had expected he would. The family were curious, and, as she thought, a little suspicious. Next day she carried out her previous plan of going on to N— for a visit. While there she began to suffer great pain in her back, was confused and probably incoherent, so her parents were sent for and they took her home. They felt strongly that Henry should come and explain, that such an experience as she had passed through was compromising to the girl unless explanations were made. She felt that the incident made her marriage certain and was at first very happy to have it settled. But after a time, as Henry did not come to make things right, she began to fear that they would not be married. Her pride was severely

wounded and her former doubt about the possibility of happiness with him came back. There was a double conflict—between love and fear of Henry, and between love of parents and love of Henry, as they now opposed the marriage. She conceived a fancy that she might have been married to him while unconscious in the course of the drive at the old Swedish church they had passed, of which he had given her a drawing together with others of his sketches of historic places. The marriage would, of course, justify whatever had been irregular in her conduct during the drive. She did not give way to this irrational fancy for some weeks, but as physical suffering continued and the emotional situation was not adjusted, she became more and more disturbed and excited. A gynecologist was called who made an examination, found a displaced uterus, and gave her several treatments. An innocent remark she made during the course of the examination caused her mother to say that the doctor might think she had not been brought up properly. This experience with the doctor increased her excitement and entered into delusion formation later.

Early in December, three weeks after the onset of her excitement, she was placed in a sanitarium, where she remained nearly a year. Upon recovery she took a place as private secretary. For a year she was well, then following an attack of her bladder trouble, suffered a depression and was treated for eight months at the sanitarium.

The affair with Henry was over but a gentleman much older than herself, who had previously stood aside for Henry, was now asking her to marry him. Her father was opposed to this marriage and she was not certain of her own feeling, so never married him, but this man enters as much as Henry into her fantasies. The choice between them was like the choice between father and mother. While she had refused him she did not really consider the refusal final and was reconsidering when a quarrel between her father and the gentleman broke off all relations. She long hoped for a reconciliation, and only last winter, when she was in a somewhat irritable and semi-delusional state, wrote him a letter proposing marriage.

In 1896 her mother died and her father in 1899. She had much nursing and housekeeping care, not only of her parents but of other aged or invalid relatives who lived with them from time to time. There was some unpleasantness about the distribution of property. She felt that her father and mother had, in helping various cousins to an education, done more for others than for her. All these cir-

cumstances inspired the feeling that she had been consistently sacrificed to her family, and for this she compensates by exalting the family importance.

After her parents' death she took a course in library science, becoming a librarian in Brooklyn for a year. Here she had diphtheria and pertussis, followed by throat trouble for which change of climate was advised, so she gave up her work. Subsequent to this disappointment she was told of some irregularities in the conduct of her favorite sister. An excitement supervened and during a violent manic attack lasting six months she was again treated at the sanitarium. This was in 1904, thirteen years after her last preceding attack. Recovering from this she taught school for five years. Then in 1909 she studied hard and took an examination for a position in the Census Bureau. Just before the examination she had had a long siege of nursing the aunt, who had taken the mother's place in the home and with whom she often came in conflict. She refuses to see this aunt when excited and makes many charges against her. After the examination she visited her childhood home in the country and while there, with memories of her parents crowding upon her, she began to show symptoms of excitement. Her condition became worse and she was placed in St. Elizabeth's Hospital November 9, 1909.

This was the first attack of which we have a full account. For some days before the onset of this manic attack which was typical of those which have succeeded it, she complained of somatic disturbances, similar to those felt after the accident which preceded the first excitement. She felt very severe pains in her back, declared she could not bear to have it touched, but if her attention was diverted did not react to dorsal stimulation. She complained of her eyes hurting her and of difficulty in seeing, thus reproducing a condition of her ride to Y— after her fall when she said she could see nothing clearly. She could not control her hands well and so was unable to arrange her hair or her dress, just as sitting by the roadside after her fall she tried to put up her hair and compose her dress and found she could not control her hands. Violent trembling and drawing sensations in her legs were also described.

Physically the patient was in good condition when first admitted, but showed some stigmata and evidence of pluriglandular disorder. She had hypertrichosis of face and body. Features were coarse, masculine in appearance. The left eye was lower than the right, the left nostril narrower than the right. This was explained as the

result of a fall by which her nose was broken. The earlobes were adherent, helix wanting; incisura present in left ear. Eyes showed slight exophthalmos. There was slight fullness of the thyroid gland. The teeth of the lower mandible were crowded and irregular, the palate high arched. The voice was loud and masculine during the excited periods. Examination of the heart showed soft systolic blow at mitral area but sounds were not increased. Blood pressure was increased during excitement, systolic 222, diastolic 84. Hands small, fingers tapering, some third joints enlarged. There were the following neurological findings: Deep reflexes all exaggerated, radial reflexes exaggerated and thrown into tonic contracture when stimulated; eyelids drooping, right side of body more sensitive to heat than left; fine tremor of hands. On her second and third admissions she showed nothing except exaggerated reflexes. During all her residence here she has shown a tendency to infections, suffering from tonsillitis, enteritis, coryza, etc. She is seldom very ill but makes the most of any illness she has and suffers from many imaginary pains.

By the time she was admitted here, in 1909, she was expressing many delusional ideas. She declared herself married to Henry, showed his drawing of the old church in which she said the marriage took place, and called it her marriage certificate. She thought she was pregnant, talked much of her delicate condition and reproduced as many of the symptoms as she could. Any man who came on the ward was hailed as her husband. She pictured the embryo as an heraldic figure of a griffon, which was on her mother's family crest. Her father's crest bore a serpent and this she often drew. She lived over the accident, sang songs to the rhythm of a gallop and danced to them. The gallop has a general sexual significance aside from its special significance for her. She was alternately happy and irritable in this attack. As her parents had been largely instrumental in preventing her marriage to either of her suitors, she sometimes disowned them, would hesitate over the letter "M" and immediately afterward say that her mother was no relation to her. More often she went back in her activities to her childhood days, talking incoherently of events of that time, using baby talk, calling herself "papa's little girl," and especially reproducing all her childish illnesses.

Her urethral complex, founded partly on her father's illness which had made such an impression on her when she was seven years old, found expression in playing much with the water in the

lavatory. She often filled her shoes with water, the water representing the impregnating fluid and the shoe the female genital organs, as shown in a formerly reported case where the shoe became almost a fetich. Once she threw her black shoes away and demanded white ones, possibly with the idea that she should be dressed as a bride. She was not untidy in the way the deteriorated patient is, but she did keep cloths wet with urine about her body. She usually had a wet cloth about her middle and a heavy shawl or blanket over it. Frequently she wrapped up scraps of paper wet with urine and sent them to her physician. She had a propensity for putting papers down the water pipes with the idea that she was sending messages and that they would reach their destination by that route. The infantile value placed upon the urinary function is the subconscious motive behind these acts.

On the other hand she was taken up with primitive fantasies of impregnation expressed in symbolic acts. She stole all the soap she could find and stuffed up the keyholes with it, or rubbed it into her hair and into her ears. A childish theory of birth was revived when she thought delivery was through the rectum. She suffered a great deal from constipation and at other times especially in the last four years has had frequent attacks of diarrhea. She talked loudly but with her fingers in her ears, representing at once her deaf grandfather who made her a great pet, Mr. B—, her suitor, who was deaf, and herself speaking to him. She identified herself with other members of her family in turn and with favorite uncles and cousins, reliving pleasant experiences with them and with her lover in a fragmentary and disordered fashion. She always saved a part of her food and put it on the windowsill "for Henry," saying that if she did not do so he screamed and yelled at her so that she could not eat. She knew that he was dead and talked of the Indian practice of leaving food on the graves of the dead. This satisfied two wishes: first to provide for him the special food his indigestion had required and which his family had neglected, and second to make up to him that which she had been unable to give him during their engagement—an adequate response to his ardor.

Her dress and manner showed the return to infancy, and further even, to savagery. Her hair was flowing, her skirts shortened, her stockings rolled down to form socks. Often she discarded shoes altogether, especially when, as happened at times, she claimed that she was a man. She danced and sang, or talked continually in a loud, coarse voice, very different from the genteel and mincing treble

used when she was quiet or "normal." Her blankets were torn into strips to make the savage dress so characteristic of the insane. She usually carried a broom or rod of some sort and though she never struck anyone she seemed to feel that it was a necessary article. This point was never taken up specifically, but it may have been connected with her father's sword, about which so many thoughts clustered.

This excitement began to subside in March, 1910. In August she was somewhat depressed, was better in October, remained fairly well until November, 1911, when another mild excitement came on, during which time she was cared for at home, having been discharged the preceding February. She became depressed again in May, 1912, was admitted here in July, and having improved somewhat, was discharged by court the next month. She was about normal until November, 1912, when a typical excitement came on. Again she was admitted to this hospital, where she has remained ever since except for short visits home. This was her sixth attack. For five years following this an acute excitement had developed every autumn, beginning toward the last of October and the first of November, the month in which the accident and the first excitement occurred. She would remain violently excited until about the first of March, then would begin to grow quieter and would be hypochondriacal, complaining of pains in many different parts of her body. At times she would be depressed, the depressions growing less marked of late years, and would have periods of confusion when she twice wandered away from the hospital. In late summer and early autumn she would be in her normal condition.

Analysis by another physician was begun in October, 1915, but as the patient became violently excited at her usual time soon after, it could not be carried on. The next year a new analysis was begun by the writer. She got on well until about the first of November when she began to talk of pains in her back and of being unable to control her hands. She was again living through her accident ever to the physical symptoms. Her little nephew, now to her her father's representative in the family, was crossing from England with his parents at this time and she feared for his safety. She offered as a propitiatory sacrifice to give up thinking of her experiences with Henry and the anticipation of meeting him in heaven if this would save her nephew. Thus again she figuratively gave up her lover for her family—for her father especially. With the increased effort to keep down wishes and thoughts incom-

patible with her present ideals and surroundings came an unstable, somewhat tearful, confused state, with a gradual increase of excitement as had probably happened in preceding attacks. She described the accident minutely and drew a diagram of the scene. As her activity increased it became more childish, less centered upon Henry and more on parents, grandparents and various father surrogates—notably on physicians, of whom she had had many. She was now married to the principal doctors of the hospital instead of to Henry. She no longer claimed to be pregnant—her menopause had occurred in 1913—but went through acts symbolic of primitive ideas of impregnation, making signs about her mouth and behind her back recalling the theory of rectal delivery. She said that a part of a male physician's foot was inserted into her jaw giving her an artificial man's jaw and accounting for her hypertrichosis. This may be traced back to fancies about father and mother, hands and feet, the foot and the male organ, and to her difficulties with her teeth and the straightening operation done on them to please her father, though painful and resented by her. This operation was associated with the treatment for displaced uterus given at the beginning of her first excitement when she was twenty-three. The many strange motions and grimaces of her mouth were made with reference to this whole complex. She spoke in a loud masculine voice and interpreted her homosexual feelings by this peculiarity of chin and voice. In childhood she was made very conscious of her crooked teeth and felt resentment against both parents in connection with it, also in connection with difficulty she had in enunciation.

She compensated for her poverty and feelings of inferiority by talking constantly of all her family and of their genealogy, of all the occasions when any member of her family was honored or distinguished, identifying herself with all the countries represented in her descent. She made crude drawings of coats of arms. Frequently when in the course of excitement her fancies, survivals of childhood, ran wild, she disowned her parents and claimed various other relatives, friends or historic personages as her parents. There is a tradition that her family is descended from the royal Stuarts of Scotland; this she affected to disbelieve when mentally clear, but when excited she claimed it as a fact, identified her woman physician as Mary Stuart and herself as Queen Elizabeth. She did not really accept this idea, however—that is, it was not a bona fide delusion. It was, as she explained it, a "metaphorical way of speaking" to express her idea of certain resemblances and relationships. When

a school girl she took part in a presentation of Schiller's "Maria Stuart" and though she did not take a principal rôle she was much impressed by the whole affair. Her schoolmates began calling her Queen Elizabeth because she was ugly but witty, a characterization which had previously been given her grandmother. A great many of her grandiose ideas and mannerisms were traced back to this girlhood fancy. Henry VIII was claimed as her father, then Sir Walter Raleigh, then some authentic ancestor, some distinguished contemporary, or her first physician. She got the idea when she told the analyst of sleeping with her head on her father's shoulder in her childhood, that the analyst thought this was improper, so excused it on the ground that as he was only her foster-father it made no difference. Yet her father's influence was paramount throughout, being the pattern on which subsequent attachments were formed. All the many fathers claimed were recognized as people who partook of the characteristics of her real father.

The maternal grandfather was frequently brought in as an opponent rather than as a substitute for the father. (Cf. Rank's *Myth of the Birth of the Hero*.) The grandfather was identified with Henry, who resembled her mother. She once said "My grandfather is my favorite cousin," meaning that he was interchanged with Henry, and at another time "Henry is my mother, and he looks like an English sparrow walking around on his hoofs." This, like the language of dreams, was not literal but metaphorical statement. The reference to English sparrow and to hoofs shows an extreme form of condensation, the bird and the horse, the horse being, according to Jung, a mother symbol, while the "English sparrow" referred to a laughing remark made by a friend about Henry's appearance. Whether or not the bird was taken as a male symbol, as it sometimes is, thus combining male and female, which was a mental feat she often attempted, I cannot say. This seems rather far-fetched, but still there is a basis for it in her clearly stated idea that Henry showed female characters and was associated in her mind with her mother. The choice she felt obliged to make in childhood between father and mother is still today as poignant as if both parents had not been dead for twenty years. She still weighs them, identifies other friends with them, and questions whether she has done right or wrong in not siding definitely with one or the other. This, according to the patient's self analysis, is the root of the complex about "Mary Stuart" concerning whom the same question arises—Did she do right or wrong all her life? The deeper mean-

ing of the question for the patient is in her wavering between homosexuality and heterosexuality, and between masculine and feminine traits. She is masculine in appearance due to endocrine disturbances as has been mentioned.

There was an auto-erotic complex also in which the figure 4, double crosses and phallic symbols were talked of and represented in drawings. Her stream of talk and her behavior showed a varied symbolism, all going back to the fundamental wishes outlined above, but with many ramifications. In her quiet periods her auto-erotic wishes were satisfied by hypochondriacal complaints and constant demands for attention, while an exaggerated affectation of elegance and a constant dwelling on her social relations with prominent people satisfied her desire for social elevation.

At the height of the excitement of 1916-1917, during which the writer carefully observed her, the symbolism of auto-eroticism was freely produced. She signed her many crude drawings and disjointed writings with a figure 4 and a series of double crosses, thus 4###. When asked to explain these figures she said they were associated in her mind with pussy willows and palms, and would go no further, but later admitted that this was a play on words and symbolized masturbation. Nevertheless she never masturbated openly, and was not known by any of her attendants to indulge in the usual form at all. She drew crosses to represent trees when diagramming the scene of her riding accident and immediately said that she hated trees. She added that she hated crosses too, they reminded her of gibbets and gallows, as did a ship with furled sails. The interwoven association of hands, genital organs, trees, crosses (the cross is a phallic symbol) and the figure four which number represents the subjective and autoerotic complex in many patients is very apparent here. She frequently made crosses with the second and third fingers of each hand and said that meant she could not even approximate a veracious statement. This statement meant not only "I am saying this with my fingers crossed—i.e., I am excused from telling the truth" but also that she was concealing important facts pertaining to her intimate personal life by making statements of an opposite import, and yet revealing them by employing the familiar symbol of the cross. Immediately after saying this she would draw her father's crest, a serpent set in a circle of squares, and would talk of the mystic meaning of the serpent, though never frankly admitting that it was a phallic symbol. The association with crosses ramifies further into a fear of being hung and to a fancy of having

killed many children and of the bodies being hung up like game between the bladder and the rectum, as she phrased it. Her autoerotic activities have killed her chances for childbearing. A homosexual attachment to one of her sisters comes into the complex at this point. The sister is also said to have killed children in this way. Her sister is the object of her erotic excitement at times, when she dances, gallops and sings her galloping song, the theme of which is her sister idealized as the representative of one branch of her family.

Further workings of the wish to be completely self-contained and self-sufficient, which is one of the sublimations of auto-eroticism, were expressed in her preoccupation with her own bizarre versions of various mystic religions, as the Parsi, the Chaldean, the Buddhist, the Rosicrucian. She had evidently picked up in her reading a good deal of symbology, but she was too incoherent and distractible at the time these thoughts possessed her to give any orderly analysis of them and their significance in her personal problem. The subject of hypnotism or mesmerism entered into this and connected directly with the fact that her father once hypnotized her. The mystic influence, the close spiritual union between them, the result of the loverlike attachment between the father and daughter, undoubtedly was one factor, closely related to the autoerotic one, in her sublimations into religion. Though a good Catholic when normal, she renounced this faith when excited, and denounced the too personal relations between the priest and the people. Catholicism was not her father's religion but her mother's, and the priests appeared to her as usurpers of her father's rights. When a young girl she had had the wish, so common to middle adolescence, to become a nun, and had been dissuaded by her father. This wish was recognized as a retreat from the difficulties of adjustment to her social world, and she sometimes blamed him for not permitting her this escape. He involuntarily, by the force of their attachment, prevented her finding a normal outlet for her sexual instinct, and she expresses this in her "metaphorical" way by saying "I am lame through my father. He suffered so too; it was like crucifixion to see him."

In giving this life history only a small portion of the data at hand has been used, data which the patient herself has supplied in a bulky autobiography written at intervals during two years. The most valuable parts for purposes of psychoanalysis were not obtained directly from this autobiography, however, which painted

everything in rose color and aped a mid-Victorian novel in style, but from the patient's frank talk during periods of convalescence after manic attacks. Likewise only a small portion of the characteristic behavior of the patient has been described and analyzed, the portions selected representing the dominant trends of the character. Perhaps enough is given to reveal the relation of the psychosis to character development.

We found a delicate, sickly, much-petted child, who remained very dependent upon her parents and never made a full adjustment to the responsibilities of womanhood. Always hypochondriacal and dependent upon others for sympathy and care, she is still, at the age of fifty-five, seeking in her physicians, nurses and friends, a father and mother to make much of her. Over-emphasis on the family pride and the family traditions, accentuated by a poverty that made it difficult to keep their place in the circle to which they were born, caused her to center an undue amount of interest in the family circle and to overrate the importance of family affairs. The disagreement between her parents looms now in her mind as great as an international war.

The accident which occurred in her young womanhood not only frustrated her plans for marriage but gave her grounds for indulging in invalidism. She still complains of the injury to her back, though repeated examinations of late years have failed to reveal any abnormality. As her years advanced and her circumstances favored less and less the gratification of her exorbitant infantile desire for petting and protection she developed the compensatory type of mental reaction which constitutes her psychosis and which has become chronic. Her first attack was an outbreak of fantasy which compensated for, or covered over, the hurt to her pride dealt by her fiance's conduct after her accident. The outbreak was rendered possible, no doubt, by her physical suffering and the shock and fright it caused her, who always reacted to physical ills in an infantile manner. Subsequent attacks also salved hurt pride over her failure in the lists of courtship and marriage, with no satisfactory substitute in a career, but this was not the only psychological motive for them. They gave her the opportunity to re-create the fairy-land of infancy in fantasy and to satisfy primitive wishes and vague trends unknown even to childhood.

The excited phases usually began with vague uneasiness and emotional instability, interpreted by the patient in the form of physical pains which shifted their location from day to day. When

hypomania succeeded this state she was occupied with fancies that fulfilled her wish for marriage and motherhood. Later came the reproduction of childhood scenes and experiences, with a confused blending of all sorts of bizarre actions, including fantastic dress and playing with water, which were attempts to fulfill a multitude of infantile or even archaic wishes. Primitive ideas of impregnation and childbirth were prominent. Although in this patient no clearly marked chronological sequence of regression was observable, such as was described in a young girl formerly reported, who in each excitement showed three stages, the adolescent, the infantile and the archaic, yet there was a certain sequence, the infantile and archaic predominating in the middle part of her excitement. Toward the end of it she expressed a sort of quietism (an effort at repression) calling herself a Quaker or a Sister and recalling to mind her adolescent desire to be a nun. During the excitement observers noted that she looked young in spite of her gray hair.

That her psychosis took the manic-depressive form rather than the schizophrenic may be due to the fact that she could not make an actual and complete break with reality. The manic remains in touch with the environment. Why she had this ability to hold onto reality and to realize that her wildest speeches were only metaphorically true, whereas the schizophrenic is really deluded, we cannot say. There is the manic-depressive character and there is the schizophrenic, with many gradations and mixed types. This patient is a fairly typical manic. Flight of ideas, constant activity, irritability, and distractibility characterized her prolonged excitements. Depressions have ceased to occur in her cycle during the past four years and I had no opportunity to observe her in one, but the history gives adequate accounts of them up until 1914. A gradual mild deterioration is evident, in her decreasing ability to grasp her situation in all its bearings and her loss of power to do work requiring skill or intelligence. This deterioration may account for the disappearance of the depressed phase, which phase many psychiatrists now consider highest among the psychoses in the intellectual scale.

In undertaking an analysis of an old chronic case like this, no hope of therapeutic success was entertained; the purpose in view was study. The analyst scarcely expected any effect whatever on the patient, yet certain results are apparent. That this was so may be partly due to the fact that the patient sought treatment and had faith in its efficacy. She brought a willing and coöperative spirit. Work had barely begun when her usual autumnal excitement oc-

curred with the recurrence of the anniversary of her accident and first attack. All previous attacks of excitement had occurred in autumn as noted above and for five years preceding the excitement during which she received analysis they had recurred yearly. No matter how active and excited she was, storming about, talking and singing at the top of her voice, she would talk for an hour with the analyst, interrupting the talk with dancing and singing, drawing crude pictures and symbols which showed characteristic flight and incoherence. As she grew more composed she talked coherently and explained much of the disjointed locution that the analyst had taken down. Analysis continued for about nine months, during six of which she was manic. The following autumn she did not have her annual attack. Toward the last of October (1917) (her usual time) she felt prodromal symptoms and came to the analyst, who had temporarily left the Hospital, for advice. She made an earnest attempt to keep hands and mind occupied and to hold before her the facts about her conflict that she had learned in order to ward off the onslaught of discontent and of the compensating fancies. She succeeded until the following February, 1918, when a typical attack came on. As the hospital staff was greatly depleted at that time by war conditions and by influenza, no record of the events preceding this attack is available. The patient thinks it was precipitated by a severe attack of gripe, and that is possible.

The next autumn, 1918, was again successfully got through, but an attack came on in February, 1919. It looked as if she had succeeded in changing the date of the excitement but had not made any headway in controlling it. During these two years she had no more analysis and the analyst was absent from the hospital. In October, 1919, she was assaulted by another patient and severely bitten on the arm, sustaining painful bruises on her breast also. She was much frightened, fearing she might develop cancer of the breast like her mother. The bite called up many terrifying associations, among them a dangerous injury sustained by the older boy cousin who was the hero of her childhood, and later a substitute for her father. Three days after her injury she went into a typical excitement which lasted only one month instead of six. About two weeks after its inception the analyst returned to the hospital and again took up analysis. We fully expected to see another attack occur in February, as that of the autumn had been brief and without doubt the result of the shock of the assault. Instead of an excitement she went through a painful stage of mental unrest lasting about two

months during which she felt great discontent with her surroundings, wrote to one old friend after another appealing to them for a home, and making impossible requests of the hospital, the refusal of which she could not understand. She was quite impervious to reason. She begged for work but when it was given her found fault with her tools, delayed execution, did the same thing over, and showed entire inability to accomplish her task. She realized, after this condition subsided, that she "had not been herself" any more than she was in her manic states. The state of mind was evidently the same as that which usually preceded a manic attack but this time she did not throw off repression and indulge in bizarre conduct. She kept herself a respectable, though for the time a very disagreeable member of society.

It is not possible to say, of course, that psychoanalysis was responsible for the above-described alterations in this patient's cycle of manic-depressive attacks. Because of the irregularities in the manifestations of this disease no one can be sure of the efficacy of any form of treatment until many cases have been studied through a lifetime. But, in view of the psychogenic elements manifest in the incidence of her attacks, shown by the autumnal recurrence, the prodromal symptoms and the content of her productions, it seems fair to entertain the probability that such an interference with her psychological processes as is made by the analysis might have some modifying effect on those processes. An alteration *was* observed. Perhaps it is fair to say that after the first analysis was given the analyst was never in the hospital when an attack developed. She has been in the hospital for the past year and the expected attack did not occur. This may mean that the special attention bestowed, satisfying the patient's infantile need for petting, was one thing that helped her to tide over the bad time without the usual outbreak. The transference was strong, bringing into play the principle of loyalty to her physician, a loyalty that compelled the patient to do her utmost. The sufferers from mental disease often look upon a relapse as a sort of disloyalty to their physician in a way that victims of physical disorders do not.

Case 2.—This woman, age thirty-six, has had, so far as we know, only one attack, the manic attack for which she was treated in this hospital. She never had a depression sufficiently marked to attract notice, although at the close of her manic phase she was a little sad for a few days. This might well be accounted for by shame over her boisterous conduct and by homesickness, and per-

haps should not be considered pathological. Her psychotic activity shows a type of symbolic behavior usually associated with the dementia precox reaction, yet her reaction type conformed in all other respects strictly to the manic-depressive.

The family life fostered psychopathic traits, as all were very emotional and made the most of sensational events. The father drank heavily for years and died at eighty of "old age." He had syphilis but believed that he was cured before the birth of the last child. The mother died of Bright's disease. She was married twice and the patient was one of the six children born of the second marriage. She had borne two children previously. All are living and well. The patient's four own sisters are "nervous" and become excited easily. They are all married. The mother's family was considered superior to the father's and her children by her first marriage were inclined to hold themselves above the second lot. The patient was sensitive about this and strove in all things to emulate her mother, yet she had a strong attachment to her father also.

The patient was the fourth of the six children by the second marriage. She was not a very strong child and was considered nervous. She was devoted to her mother and rather dependent upon her. She was also devoted to her aunt, a well-to-do woman whom she often visited and who wished to adopt her. The mother was not willing and the girl herself decided that she could not leave her mother. She was very fond of her younger sisters also, preferring them to her brothers. Her brother Henry promised her that he would give her as much luxury as her aunt offered.

When about twelve years old she was sent upstairs one day by her mother to give a towel to an adult cousin who was taking a bath. When she reached the door he opened it and pulled her in. As he was unclothed the girl felt that he intended a sexual assault and screamed. He held his hand over her mouth but her mother heard the noise and ran upstairs saying "If you ruin that girl I'll murder you." A few weeks later the patient was staying with the aunt above mentioned when her uncle picked her up and embraced her and kissed her. The patient thinks that she fainted when he did this but that she came to when her aunt entered the room and said "Oh my God! what have you done to this child?" Her menses were established in her twelfth year just before these incidents. She had no instruction from her mother but had learned something from other girls. When she asked her mother what it all meant her mother said "Oh my child, I can't tell you." "Then don't" she

answered angrily, "but I'm a woman and not a baby." Her mother was a pious woman and a great church worker, yet her own daughters were not models and one of her nieces got into serious trouble. The patient remarked apropos of this "Mother was one of these saviors but she couldn't save all the girls." She knew of the general significance of the phenomenon of menstruation and connected the actions of her two male relatives with her arrival at puberty, but was ignorant of its real cause or nature and knew nothing of the actual procedure of an assault.

She became very nervous after this and had to be taken out of school. She felt guilty, supposing as so many ignorant girls do, that some fault in her own behavior or some unworthiness in her character must have laid her open to attack. She wished to join the Salvation Army, the refuge of the outcast. She repressed all sexual curiosity, learned nothing more on the subject, and was singularly innocent when she married. After a few months rest and medical care she returned to school and finished the eighth grade, after which she was employed in a store. She was energetic and industrious, doing well with her work, and was always very quiet and modest in her manner. She had numerous beaux and went about with them because her mother wished her to, urging that she would lose her chance for marriage if she did not, but she never allowed a man to touch her. She felt that she could never love anyone as she loved her mother and sisters.

When about twenty she met a painter, thirteen years older than herself, who became deeply in love with her. The respectful attentions of the older man flattered her and the fact that he never offered her a caress until he proposed marriage pleased her. She loved him in a childish way so they were married when she was twenty-one years old. She says marriage was a terrible experience for her as she did not know what to expect. She never enjoyed sexual intercourse, the painful impression of the first time persisting.

About a year later she had a son, with a very difficult labor. She was pregnant again in a little over a year and induced an abortion, at her husband's desire, by introducing an object into the uterus. He had tried to persuade her to abort her first child but she told her mother who convinced her that she must not do it. Two years later she induced a second abortion. She never told her mother, who died shortly after, but the thought that her mother must know of it made her unhappy, and she cried about the abortions many times. She attended her mother on her death-bed, and the thought

of her guilt, "the secret of her life" that she talked of in her psychosis, added bitterness to her grief for her mother. The mother made her promise especially to look after her younger sister who was soon to be married. The sister's fiance once confessed that he really loved the patient and she felt that she could have loved him better than her husband, although she did not realize this until she had married the latter.

After the mother's death the father came to live in the patient's home. Her husband sometimes made her feel that her father was not welcome and this was a source of anxiety to her as there was a conflict of duty to father and duty to husband. She felt that her husband was too old for her, and had it not been for her child, would have regretted her marriage. Had she loved him better she would not have been guilty of committing abortion, even at his desire. She learned that he had had an illegitimate child by an English girl and in her psychosis looked upon this as a first marriage, and herself as an interloper. She was also jealous of her husband's sister, who, by his will was to share his estate half and half with his wife. Because of this and because of the care she took of her father, she claimed a double share of the father's estate, but felt that perhaps she was not right in doing so.

Life went along quite smoothly, however, for about two years after the period embracing the above mentioned events. She was a faithful wife, a good housekeeper, a devoted mother and an active member of her church and lodge. She always showed a quiet and modest demeanor in almost unbelievable contrast to her boisterous and exhibitionistic behavior during her psychosis.

In the autumn of 1916, soon after the death of her father, the husband of her younger sister was to leave the city on business for some months. The patient thought it would be best for her sister to stay with her in the meantime but her own husband refused to allow this, so the sister prepared to leave town with her husband. The patient was very angry about the matter, the more so because this brother-in-law was the one who had declared his love for herself. This made her feel that she was untrue to her sister and therefore she compensated by an exaggerated solicitude for the sister's welfare. She hated her husband who had lately taken to drinking and who stood in opposition to her attachment to her family as well as to the brother-in-law. She thought that her mother appeared to her at night and reminded her of the vow that she had made when the mother was dying, to take care of her sister. She had not been

true to her sister nor to her husband and because of her lack of love for the latter she had committed a grave sin. It seemed that her secret burden could be borne no longer and she wished to die. She gradually became excited, was restless, talked incoherently and expressed the fear that if she went to sleep she would not wake up. She spoke often of the "secret of her life." The family physician gave her hypnotics for about ten days, including bromides, chloral, trional, morphine and hyoscyamus. After ten days treatment at home she was taken to a private sanitarium, where she was kept for only two days because she was violent and smashed the panels of the door of her room. She was brought to this hospital November 15, 1916. The effect of the drugs administered to her was apparent for several days in somatic delusions, but these cleared up and left a manic picture.

She showed, upon entering, a marked anxiety and constant complaint of being poisoned. This idea may have originated with the knowledge that she was given drugs, but was subsequently attached to her reproductive function and to the moral significance of the abortion, as she located the poison in her uterus and dug her fingers into her vaginal opening and into the skin of her abdomen and precordium in the effort to get it out. Sometimes she put out her tongue saying "I hope I haven't any poison in my mouth." This was because after using her fingers on her vulva she had put them in her mouth. She said this was the first time she had ever masturbated, she knew it was wrong and she feared she had given herself a disease. She had some insight, refusing to let her child see her in this condition and fearing that her husband would divorce her because she was crazy. She was able to give a partial account of her trouble, only keeping back the secret love of her brother-in-law and a dispute over money with her husband, besides a number of intimate matters which came out later.

She saw her dead father and mother reproaching her and heard people saying that she was a bad woman. A fear of castration was present and she said "I am a disciple of God and my father's image." She dreamed that her husband was killed by the head doctor and that she saw an autopsy performed. Often she talked about the family doctor and it turned out that while influenced by the drugs he gave her she had erotic feelings toward him which increased her burden of guilt. She talked and screamed loudly, cried out that she was going to hell, then said she must have a divorce. She said there was ether in the bedclothes and poison in her

food, that she had to fight to keep her brain, showing that there was some insight and a conscious struggle. She was playful and witty, playing tricks on people and often laughing heartily. She mistook the identity of those about her, associating them with relatives and friends.

As her physical condition improved and the toxicity cleared up she gave up the delusion of being poisoned by drugs. Her ideas showed a gradual regression from direct preoccupation with her marital situation to confusion of this with infantile attachments and resentments, then to religious symbolisms that express her primitive sexual feelings and her attachment to her parents. In these ideas she approaches the fantasy-formations characteristic of the precox. The precox activity is present also in her play with excreta. This regression of her speech and behavior towards forms of expression more and more symbolic and vague, and less related to her immediate situation can be shown by a few extracts from the notes made at that time. In November she was worried about her husband, thought that he had been killed, sometimes blamed herself for his death, sometimes said she was innocent. She accused him of having been with other women, of having another wife then, said that when she suspected he had the first wife she did not wish to be with him as that would make her a prostitute. She accused herself of being a bad woman and accused him of wronging her sister and herself. She reproached herself for not having saved his life. She said that she married him because her mother wished it, that she cared for him, and declared that she now loved him better than life. At this time she thought that she was getting lead poisoning and that electrical charges were sent into her body, that she had a disease of which she must get rid. Thoughts of this period centered about her husband. Drug effects were still present.

During the next ten-day period, as the conflict between loyalty to her husband and to her own family grew to fuller expression, she began to utter thoughts from the subconscious, wherein her husband who was older than herself and who had been previously married becomes partly identified with her father. All the sexual feelings and partial strivings of her development from childhood are fused together in thought by their emotional unity. She began to identify her father, brother and son with her husband. Her brother's name was Thomas Henry; her husband and her son were both named Henry Thomas, so she said she was married to Henry the first, Henry the second and Henry the third, that her brother's name was

Harry (Henry) and he was her favorite brother. She felt that she must marry her son in order to save his life. Her father had ruined her life. Then her cousin Albert (probably the one referred to in the history) had ruined her; she was married to him. Her uncle was also sometimes introduced and his wife, her Aunt Alicia, claimed to be her mother. She talked much of the mysteries of her mother's life, secrets which her mother did not tell her. The psychoanalyst was identified in her mind with her sister. She seemed to confuse the present situation with the experience with her cousin when she was thirteen years old. She declared she had been robbed by her husband and by her aunt. Fancies concerning the church, priest, etc., were just beginning to appear. She said that she was willing to die on the cross. Her sexual intercourse with her husband had been looked upon as a sort of martyrdom and she now expressed this.

In the next month and scatteringly for months afterwards she talked of dying on the cross as an expression of her self-surrender to her husband, and associated the Catholic Church, which makes much of the crucifix, with her erotic fancies. She herself was a Protestant and had a good deal of prejudice against Catholics, believing that the priests led impure lives. An effort had been made to proselyte her when she was thirteen. She talked of being married to Christ, of her love for God then crossed herself, using profane and obscene language. She identified her father, son, brother, cousin and Christ as one person. She spoke of her life being ruined in the Catholic Church and talked of "Father O'Brien" as her father, her husband. She said "Mother, you are ahead of the Catholic Church. I could not take your place. Mother, I cannot stand those drinks. I know what Henry would do. It ought to be done to him. I won a high diploma when I was thirteen in the Catholic Church. Christ Almighty is my husband. I have listened too much to Father's instructions. Ask Mother if I can live more than one life. If thou-est maketh me I will." She talked now of being English, of being married in England as her husband was English and once offered to take her to England to live. She said "I love my mother best of all and my sisters next of all. If my husband is not good enough for you by God he is good enough for me. He is not bald-headed, he is not. He is a deaf fool and liar. He is the whole cheese, a running show, Julius Johnson. He is the head of the Catholic Church." She sang songs, began hymn tunes, then improvised songs in which love, religion, husband, father and mother all

play a part, such as "I love you, sister and Jesus, and the Catholic Church in hell. Mother of God in Sarah (patient's own mother). Mother is a lady, a lady, a lady." She said she would tell the secrets of her life to the superintendent because he was the father of this institution, that she would marry the psychoanalyst if she were a man, that Christ was her father and she had more sisters than she could count. She generally called the psychoanalyst as well as many of the nurses "sister." Her father, she said, was ancient history, ancient history of the church, adding "I am the mother of Christ's child so I ought to marry him."

Her excitement and the disorder of her conduct so increased during the second month that she had to be secluded and was seen by the analyst when she was in the continuous bath, as at this time only was she quiet enough to be approached. She indicated that her first love was given to her father, identifying priests, doctors and employers with the father, in the classic fashion described by Freud.⁶

Although her family felt that her love for her mother was more marked than for her father, and though when in a normal state with all her inhibitions in force she probably never expressed anything toward her father, but ordinary filial respect and affection, yet in her manic state she expressed her desire for marriage with him (which Freud has shown to originate as a perfectly innocent infantile wish) in the plainest language. She said she thought her father might marry his daughter now that mother was out of the way, and again "Give me a pretty nightgown so Papa will fall in love with his dear little daughter." Yet she recognized that father was "ancient history" and that a new love was dawning, and saw no impropriety in marrying her fourteen year old son, whom she idolized. She said, however, when she spoke of marrying him, that she would say he was her cousin. While in the bath she kept a square of linen in her hand, put it in her mouth sucked it, spit it out, put it on her feet. She was very demonstrative and erotic toward the physician. She talked constantly of her love for various people, of her hate for them, spoke of doctors, priests and others as her father of lust, said she was the child of lust and Mr. — the salvation of lust. This Mr. — was manager in the store where she worked. She called the head woman physician Mrs. — and disliked her. Called the psychoanalyst D—, her darling sister. She kissed her own arms and went off into screams of ecstasy, sucked the linen cloth, splashed the water, screamed out names of her aunts,

⁶ Freud, S., *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

sisters and cousin. She told of a little girl whose life was ruined, said it was her mother, then said no, it was her aunt, no, it was herself. She said she had no poison now but she was still bothered by electricity, thought there was electricity in her pillow and would not have it at night. The examiner, she said, had an electric pencil, she could feel it. She said she wrote the history of the doctor's love on the wall, where she had bored round holes. She also said there was electricity in her shoes. She now called the psychoanalyst a fortune teller, saying that she had a cross on her forehead. She made numerous drawings on the walls of her room with some sharp instrument, generally in circles with holes in the middle, wrote the names of her relatives, her husband, Father O'Brien on the wall. She drew a cross, put the name of her husband beside it, then her own name. She drew a picture which resembled a uterus in shape, with three round holes arranged as a triangle at the base; near it was a phallus. She outlined these drawings with filth. At one time in this period she said "We are all mothers of trees of lust." "My own sister, Mrs. S—— I love better than you, than anyone. She rubbed my backbone, it was broken. My brother loves you, he runs an umbrella store." She constantly wrote out her mother's full name, saying, "She was your mother, one ancient history, girl of love." She still talked occasionally of having died on the cross but not so often. She took a cloth, folded it up, laid it by the door of the room and called it her sacrifice. When anyone came in she would say, "Don't take my sacrifice." On one occasion she was found with a clean gown folded up and laid on the bed. When asked why she did not put it on she said "It is my sacrifice." The linen cloth, the clean gown folded, she associated, when questioned afterward, with the seamless inner garment of Christ for which the soldiers cast lots. It represented purity, chastity, which she had sacrificed and which, laid at the door was a protection, and which she had no right to touch. The square of linen played with in the bath had a different use, but the association brought up was the same. It gave her power.

For about four months she continued to draw designs of the character described above and to outline them with her excreta. She tore up her clothing into strips and made the savage dress, resembling that of the South Sea Islander, which so many patients make. Her singing and dancing were in keeping with the dress, and her speech showed her preoccupation with the thought of sexual love for her father, with the symbolic expression described. One of

the designs frequently found on her wall was a cup, resembling the pictures of the Grail. She would also tell the nurses that she must make cups. Her first association with this was the "wine cup" which so detracted from her father's life and was beginning to be a stumbling block to her husband. Then she thought of the "bitter cup" that she must drink, comparable to the cross of which she talked so much. But the cup was beginning to be less bitter. As she worked out her conflict more and more she began to soften toward her husband and to long for him. She said that long abstinence from sexual life was paralyzing her bowels (she suffered from constipation). Yet she could not forgive him, especially because he did not "give her his maiden name." This was a displacement, by which she means that he had had connection with another woman before her and had not come to her a maiden. Also he had given his sister's child his name, *i.e.*, preferred his sister before her. As the excitement began to subside, toward the end of the eighth month, she ceased to smear designs on her wall and to tear her clothing, but instead, ravelled out stockings and used the thread so obtained to embroider sheets, pillow cases and gowns with varied and manifold crude designs. Giving her the proper materials for embroidery did not prevent this practice. Some of the designs repeated those drawn on her wall, being circles, triangles, cups, crosses, etc., but many were things connected with various periods of her life, such as the umbrella for the time she worked in an umbrella store, dolls, hats, etc., for childhood. She embroidered the initials of her family and friends. When asked what she was making on one occasion she said that it was a child's dancing dress. She had wanted to have a little girl and to give her all the things that she had missed in her own childhood. She still sang loudly and showed flight of ideas but was able to begin something like real analysis.

She showed a marked preference for the analyst and was always willing to answer questions, although for months she was unable to control her flight of ideas sufficiently to complete any answer started. When she finally became quiet and coherent she recognized me as a friendly person who had been with her often, although she had not understood what I was doing, and readily gave her coöperation. The time was unfortunately short, as my attendance at the hospital was temporarily discontinued soon after her convalescence. She gained insight, however, saw where she must make an adjustment to her husband, and informed me when last seen that she now enjoyed intercourse. Since the attack treated here was the first, no

significance can be attached to the fact that she has now been well for three years. That analysis helped her to readjust her emotional life, however, is significant and may mean that she will not be so easily upset by adverse events in the future. She still has a very strong tendency to repression, by reason of which she gave other physicians of the hospital the impression that she had only partial insight. She was unwilling to admit to others that she had entertained the ideas that were freely expressed and afterward associated to their original springs in the course of analysis. Her attachment to her father she never fully understood, but she did understand that he had stood between her and her husband. Her case is interesting for the frank production of feelings and thoughts that usually remain buried in the unconscious.

Case 3.—This woman was admitted to the hospital at the age of thirty-seven, suffering from a violent excitement which had succeeded a depression of about six months' duration. The attack was her first.

Her mother is living and well at the age of eighty, her father lived to old age, and neither showed any pathological traits. A maternal aunt and uncle died in institutions for the insane in Germany, although they did not require such treatment until they had reached an advanced age. The patient says that they had "softening of the brain." There are two brothers living in America and a sister in Germany, all well. Five children died in infancy.

The patient was born in Germany in 1882, the youngest of a family of nine. She was prematurely born, very small and delicate and was not expected to survive; her mother had great difficulty in nourishing her and she was given up as dying more than once in her infancy. The family lived in a small agricultural village in Germany and were quite poor. The home life was not happy as the parents were very stern and exacting, never expecting or allowing the children to play. They were strict Catholics and morbidly religious. The patient is now a cheerful skeptic and says she could not be otherwise since she had such an overdose of religion in childhood. "I was fed on it" she says "and not with a teaspoon either." What time the children were not in school they had to work in the fields, to carry wood and water on their backs, to feed and milk cows, etc. Even in the evening there must be no play but sewing and knitting for the girls, harness repair and the like for the boys.

The patient was of a lively, imaginative nature and extracted what joy she could from a life that she never fails to paint in somber

colors. She delighted in fairy tales and read them on the sly. She experienced the stories that she read and lived in an inner dream world that was always in sharp contrast to her daily round of tasks. She was often punished without clearly understanding what her offense was, but the punishments that stand out most clearly in her memory were for staying away from church or curtailing her prayers. She believed in witches, ghosts, fairies and the like and had one or two experiences in childhood that she cannot yet understand.

One night she felt a ring drawn off her finger when she was broad awake (as she thinks) and was not wearing a ring. Immediately thereafter her sister, who slept beside her, accused her of pulling her hair. She thinks that this phenomenon must have been due to the activities of a witch. Another time when going down into a dark cellar on an errand, she saw the figures of a great fat man and a woman ahead. She dared not turn back for fear of punishment, so walked straight through the figures which thereupon vanished. These experiences and her belief in them helped to foster in her mind the theory that her psychosis was a sort of devil possession, so that while she respectfully concurred in the analyst's psychological explanations, she still clung to a supernatural view of her hallucinations.

She was always small for her age and is now scarcely five feet tall. She attributes this to the heavy work required of her in childhood and resents it. Even so, she thinks the physical cramping was not so great as the mental. She was never allowed any freedom or initiative. The voice of the parents was as the voice of God in that house, or, as she says, "even more." As a female child, she also felt her inferiority, as she was required to yield to her brothers. "Women are menials in Germany," she says. Moreover she belonged to the peasant class and was made constantly to feel her humble position. Her schooling was of the simplest utilitarian nature and did not go beyond the primary grades.

Puberty occurred in her twelfth year. She was quite unprepared for it, and went in distress to her mother who told her that it was nothing and that she was to pay no attention to it beyond keeping herself clean. She gathered a little information from other girls, enough to convince her that her mother had lied in saying that it was a thing of no consequence, and this lie she resented bitterly. She got the idea, however, that concealment and silence constituted the proper behavior and became extremely modest, even prudish.

She had learned from observation that babies grew in the mother but had no idea of the man's part and was shocked and indignant when told of it by another girl. She was very sure that her mother would never do such a thing. When convinced that the information was correct, she reacted with an exaggerated modesty, was ashamed to look a man in the face, and blushed at the very thought, showing the hold that the subject had taken on her imagination. She suppressed her sexual curiosity and claims now that she has none, yet her eager questions about anatomy and allied medical subjects, the many "whys" with which she interrupts analysis show an unusual intellectual curiosity, which Freud traces to the repressed sexual curiosity of childhood.

When she was thirteen she left home because she disliked field work so much, in order to become a nurse in a distant town. Her unfavorable impression of family life was intensified here. The mistress had a child every year and continually quarrelled over money matters with her husband. The patient concluded that it was much better to remain single. She was an attractive, roguish, black-eyed little girl and as she grew up did not lack for suitors. The more indifferent she was the more she was pursued, which naturally nourished her vanity. She did not care to marry any of them, however, and only wished to attain independence. With this in view she emigrated to America, whither her brothers had preceded her, when she was twenty-two. She got work as a housemaid and was very happy and content, as she found here more freedom, better social status and more money than she had known in the old country. She led an active and cheerful life, was fond of music and singing, made many friends, and enjoyed company. Except for a quick temper she was good natured and easy to get on with.

A year after coming to America she met the man she married two years later. He was a waiter in a hotel and had been a butler in Germany. His manners were gentle and refined and his deference to her was flattering. Physically he was small and sickly but she felt sure she had had enough of dominant males and did not object to that. He had been planning to return to Germany within a few days when he met her, and immediately cancelled his passage to stay and win her. This romantic action on his part appealed to her imagination. His life story appealed to her sympathy also. He had been an illegitimate child and had been kicked around, fed on scraps, and half starved throughout his childhood. She overlooked his timidity, his evident nervousness and his physical frailty, and feel-

ing that she loved him as she had loved no one else, she married him in October, 1907.

Married life proved a trial in more than one respect. She was anesthetic and found sexual intercourse painful as well, due to the narrowness and rigidity of her vaginal outlet. Her sexual repression probably formed a psychological component of her anesthesia which her husband had not the power to overcome. She was afraid of pregnancy and with good reason, for the first child, born a year after marriage, was carried ten months, weighed fourteen pounds and could be delivered only after a craniotomy. She grieved over its loss but was not abnormally depressed. Her convalescence was greatly prolonged and she went on crutches for two months owing to some injury to the sciatic nerve. Since the birth of this child she suffered with severe dysmenorrhea.

A second time she became pregnant and was greatly alarmed at the prospect of another such painful experience. The doctor who had attended her during her first confinement said that it would be necessary to take the child at the seventh month if it was to live. A different doctor was called and on March 11, 1911, the patient was delivered of a full time, healthy, but very small, girl baby. Delivery was spontaneous, the patient did very well and recovered after a short convalescent period. The child is now bright and healthy, but is undersized and displays a poor appetite so that her mother is inclined to worry over her. In 1914 the patient was again pregnant and while somewhat frightened, was more hopeful than before and made eager preparations. The child was born dead like the first and since then she has avoided pregnancy.

The outbreak of the war and the gradual involvement of this country brought trouble. She heard nothing from her relatives in Germany and was anxious. Neighbors were prejudiced against her as a German and often showed their suspicion and dislike. Her husband frequently overheard the conversation of high officials, in his capacity of hotel waiter, and she thought he might be suspected of spying, though they were both loyal to the United States. The foolish questions of ignorant neighbors first amused but later annoyed her. Social ostracism because of her nationality brought back the feelings of social inferiority that she had left Germany to escape. This in turn made her more conscious of her physical inferiority as a wife and mother. She could not satisfy her husband and she could not bear a son. Preoccupation with these worries made her lose interest in her work. She felt that she was losing her skill and her

power of concentration and would never be any more good. Symptoms of depression became noticeable in January, 1919, and in March she made an attempt to hang herself. She kept thinking of a lodger she had had, a widower who was very tall and robust, in contrast to her husband. She had liked him but had not been conscious, at the time he lodged in the house, of any special attraction. It occurred to her now that he might have made her a better mate than her nervous, always tired husband, but she quickly repressed the thought. Money matters were rather pressing as prices rose and her husband's income was variable. She was intensely dissatisfied but could find no reason for her discontent, felt as if she were troubled by a bad conscience but did not know what her sin was. The sexual dissatisfaction was kept out of consciousness. Her head felt as if there were a band around it and she had a sensation as if there were a "lump in her brain." She felt that she was losing her mind. She became convinced that people considered her a German spy and that she was watched and followed. She would take cars in the opposite direction from that which she had planned in order to test this. She thought hucksters and agents who stopped at the house were spying upon her. A naval officer had roomed in the house and she thought she was suspected because of that. It would seem that her sexual desire, unsatisfied by marriage, was trying to attach itself to other men, hence the guilty feeling and the fear that she was watched. Of course her condition as a German and the sensational talk of spies helped this along. Her old habit of living in story books was being reestablished.

She made several more attempts to hang herself, none very sincere. Sometimes she went only so far as to secrete a rope in her room, but once actually tied it around her neck and to the bedpost, but promptly loosed it when the pressure became painful. She became very anxious about her husband, thinking he had tuberculosis, and even more anxious about her little girl who did not eat enough and was getting thin. On one occasion when the child did not eat she became angry and kicked her in the abdomen.

During the summer she went to a beach resort where she had her fortune told. The medium told her that she had difficult labors because there was a curse on her, that her husband had been engaged to a girl in the old country before coming to America, and this girl had put a curse on the woman he married. Her husband earnestly denied this but it fell in with the patient's subconscious but repressed wish to get rid of him and she could not be convinced.

In August she felt that she must go to work outside her home. Though her husband gave her money she felt that prices were going up so fast that they would soon need more money. The uncomfortable head sensations continued and she thought that more work might take her mind off these feelings. Her housework worried her and she felt that it made her nervous. Consequently she went out as chambermaid in a hotel. The child was boarding in the country for the summer so she had only her housework to do at night, but the extra strain was too much and her husband persuaded her to go with him to the country for a few days. She began at this time to be very hilarious and noisy, embarrassing her husband by talking loudly in public places. She tried to work as housemaid in a private family but was evidently too excited to get on in such a position.

She came home again and developed more and more disorder of conduct. A force against her will seemed to compel her to go through strange motions such as standing on tiptoe and reaching up into the air as if to grasp an object there. In analysis this brought the association of a childhood dream in which she was carried by an angel to heaven. She would feel obliged to dance and always to the right, never to the left. She began singing, screaming and talking very incoherently of spies. The exacerbation of excitement came on with menstruation and after this her menses were suppressed for five months.

When admitted to this hospital the middle of October, 1919, she came in quietly but soon began screaming. She had severe dysmenorrhea which she misinterpreted as labor pains. She was oriented for time and place but not for person. A few days later, after she became immersed in delusions, she was disoriented and did not recover her appreciation of her surroundings for three months. She showed a playful spirit, tried to make witty remarks, and shouted the last word of each sentence five times, raising her voice louder each time. Thus: "I've been poisoned—poisoned—poisoned—poisoned—poisoned. Gift—gift—gift—gift—gift." She spoke a mixture of German and English. She thought she was poisoned because of intestinal pains she suffered along with the dysmenorrhea. She had severe external hemorrhoids aggravated by the temporary congestion, which condition led her to believe when she had an evacuation, that she had given birth to a child by the rectum. The repetition of the last word five times was one of the compulsions that we did not succeed in analyzing. She did not

recall that she did so. The child-birth delusion was suggested by her physical condition but fostered by her wish to live a full sexual life, as she had been unable to do. She thought the child was the son of the handsome lodger and persisted long in this delusion. She often asked what had become of the child.

She had visual, auditory, tactile and organic hallucinations but the first two orders were predominant. She saw, while on her way to the hospital, a puff of smoke that seemed to come from a bunch of feathers burning, and this smoke formed itself into a face, half lion, half devil. After this she conceived of her psychosis as a sort of devil possession. She could find no associations to explain the feathers, but to other patients they have been phallic symbols; but the smoke, the animal and the devil all stood for the "lower" nature that was asserting itself in her wish to escape her present family situation and create one more satisfying to her selfish wishes.

After about two weeks the more remote infantile wishes and motives began to assert themselves. She thought she was a Russian princess being trained, by her confinement in this castle, for her high place, or else she was in the White House, having been taken there for her protection, and was to become the wife of the President. She called the present Mrs. Wilson many evil names. She believed she was the owner of everything near her and since she had obeyed all her life it was now her turn to command. Consequently she tore down curtains and broke up furniture in order to replace it with a better sort, more worthy of her. She told her husband she wanted him no more and he could take their daughter also as she had the other one (the imaginary son). Soon after this she forgot the existence of both husband and child.

(To be continued)

A DREAM STUDY

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INTRODUCTION

This study was undertaken because the vividness and detail of the dream showed it to be an unusually valuable index to the dreamer's unconscious attitude. It is reported because the completeness and dramatic arrangement of the dream are unique. It will be noted also that some of the common symbols appear with somewhat different interpretations than those which are ordinarily accepted. The dream coincides not only with Freud's dictum that a dream must be wish-fulfilling in character but also with Maeder's theory that a dream may often be of a confessional nature.

A brief account of the dreamer is necessary to an understanding of the situation underlying the dream. Born in Nova Scotia, an only daughter and an only child after the death of her brother which occurred in her early infancy, she was the recipient in her childhood of an undue amount of solicitude on the part of her parents. As she became adolescent, the parent complex showed itself in an antagonism toward the mother (herself a neurotic) for which she greatly overcompensated. Having completed a high-school course, she did library work in a nearby town for several years but continued to remain under the domination of her mother. At the age of twenty she became infatuated with a young man into whose society she was thrown by her work and was confidently expecting to marry him when he suddenly disappeared and she later heard of his marriage. She soon afterward became passively involved in homosexual activities with a charwoman who worked at her mother's house. This woman was enormously fat and none too careful of her personal cleanliness but possessed a certain amount of attraction for the girl, based perhaps on a few points of similarity to her mother. No other love affairs occurred, a situation to be expected in view of her strong father fixation, and the only men who had ever attracted her were ineligible for one reason or another—either already engaged or married or avowed celibates.

When she was twenty-two years old she left home and went to

a large city in the South where she took up nursing. The neurosis, which really began at home, became so marked within the course of the next year that she sought medical advice and was referred to a psychoanalyst. After several months he left the city and she came to me for treatment. The dream under discussion occurred just prior to her first visit to me. Not long after her arrival at the Hospital she made friends with a pupil nurse in a class above her and this attachment to a level-headed, normal-minded woman had a very salutary effect upon her.

THE DREAM

For purposes of orientation I have divided the dream into acts as it seemed to fall thus naturally when related, the dreamer herself remarking upon the dramatic mode of expression.

Prologue

The scene of the Prologue is laid in a locker room of the Nurses' Home. In a corner occupied in reality by lockers is a bed and on the bed lies a pupil nurse, MC, dressed in her uniform. A physician, well known to the dreamer as an instructor in the training school, is speaking to her about MC, apparently giving directions concerning her care. Among other things forgotten on awaking, he said "If the wind blows from the North or East, do not tell her; but draw a diagram showing that it comes from the South and West." Suddenly the physician is absent and MC is standing, apparently well, in another part of the room. The dreamer then proceeds to relate to MC what the doctor has said, pretending that it was someone else on whom the deceit is to be practiced. As they laugh over it together, the dreamer realizes that MC is perfectly aware that the advice has reference to her.

Act I

The first act is staged on a beautiful sandy beach which appears in an impossible location in the rear of the Hospital. The dreamer and someone (a rather shadowy personality with whom the dreamer seems perfectly at ease) are standing on the yellow sand watching airplanes. The dreamer holds a gun, the other an old-fashioned pistol, both of which appear to be useless. Discussing the planes, the other individual remarks that they should not try to shoot planes that have orange-colored insignia because they are Turkish and Turkey has already surrendered. A large plane, flying low, bearing an orange mark, approaches the two and both raise their weapons

to shoot; this is done for no definite purpose but because it seems to be the proper thing to do. Neither is disappointed when it becomes evident that the shots have had no effect.

Act II

The scene of Act II is the same. A very fat, greasy, dirty Indian woman is standing on the sand. It seems that she has appeared there as the result of the shooting and must be attended to as a captive. She seems dull and stupid and makes no effort to escape. The dreamer holds her by the shoulder with her left hand and instructs the other woman to shoot her, feeling as she does so that she is conferring a favor. The pistol is pressed far into the flabby fat of the woman's back and the trigger drawn, but, as in Act I, the result is a failure.

Act III

The scene of this act is indefinite, sand and sea having disappeared. The Indian woman lies upon a bed. She has been told that she is shot and she seems to feel that she should act as though she has been injured. She makes no attempt to speak and apparently understands little of what goes on around her. She sits up in bed and seems about to make an attempt to escape. Just then a crowd of men appear carrying note books and the dreamer realizes that they are going to a class which she also must attend; but finding that she has on only a night gown, she wishes to put on a kimono, feeling that she would then be adequately clothed. She feels that she cannot leave the captive woman (her companion having disappeared) but finally she runs toward the Hospital, hoping to return before the woman has had time to go far.

Act IV

The scene of this act is the same room as the Prologue. The dreamer hastily dons a blue kimono and looking out of the window is relieved to see a large crowd coming up from the beach bringing with them the captive Indian woman.

Epilogue

The final part of the drama takes place in front of the Hospital. The dreamer stands on the sidewalk below the steps leading up to the front entrance. She wishes to take a pair of glasses to be mended and is advised by the vague comrade of acts I and II to go

to an address in the vicinity of the Nurses' Home, preferring herself to go to another place in the downtown section. She then notices that the brick porter's lodge is very large and is being used as a place for convalescent patients to sit. The building is so arranged that the long steps up the terrace pass directly through it and it is sufficiently open so that the dreamer can see a woman sitting in a rocking chair within.

INTERPRETATION¹

In developing the interpretation it seems best to give the most important associations which came to the dreamer before giving the various meanings of each episode. It seems likely that the dreamer's previous experience with analysis influences these associations markedly, for in many instances the first association given is one of the fundamental interpretations. Maeder's maxim (*Dream Problem*, page 41) that "on sufficient analysis all figures in the dream will resolve themselves as personifications of the libido" finds ample confirmation here.

Prologue

Locker room: ante room, something inferior, lower level, infantile stage of development.

Absence of lockers and presence of bed: utilitarian furniture replaced by furniture of ease and comfort; articles associated with "career" replaced by article symbolic of marriage, home, family.

MC: an individual who in waking life is a source of mild amusement to the patient, being an immature, childish person; represents that part of the dreamer's personality which is neurotic and infantile, the infantile libido.

Physician: instructor, conscience, censor.

Wind: Poe's poem "Annabel Lee" in which the beloved maiden is killed by a wind which came out of the North.

North: Nova Scotia, parents and complex surrounding them.

East wind: home, a village where the prevailing wind is East.

South wind: gentle, kind. South is associated with her ambitions and with her relief at being so far from her parents.

West wind: fertility, pleasure. West is associated with a pleasant California vacation. *Southwest* suggests the Hospital friend who comes from Texas.

The prologue is a concise statement of the patient's problem as

¹ I wish to thank Dr. Lucile Dooley and Dr. G. Lane Taneyhill for some valuable suggestions as to interpretation.

she sees it after partial analysis. At the outset we have the dreamer acting as nurse for a sick friend who represents her own undeveloped, neurotic psyche. It is the fulfillment of the wish that she may gain control of that part of her personality which she feels to be inferior. MC is, however, fully dressed, an indication that the undesirable traits are still flourishing. The physician, probably a father image, but essentially in this instance appearing in the rôle of censor, gives the cryptic advice "If the wind blows from the North or East, do not tell her; but draw a diagram showing that it comes from the South and West." First and foremost the North and East mean home, mother, influences toward which the dreamer has reacted with great antagonism. Help, advice or influence coming from that source will be valueless because of the emotional reaction involved, but if she can be induced to believe that they come from the friendly regions of the South and West, they will be gratefully accepted. Furthermore, the immediate association with "wind" was Annabel Lee in which the wind comes out of the North "chilling and killing" the heroine. No further analysis could be obtained from the patient on this point but it would seem probable that, having in mind the frequent use of wind as an impregnation symbol, we have here a reference to incest fantasy.

Little could be gained in regard to the drawing of the diagram. The dreamer ordinarily made use of a visual rather than an auditory type of ideation but this seems hardly sufficient to warrant the emphasis placed upon it in the dream. Some months later, when the subject of the dream was re-opened with the patient, she gave an association dating back ten years or more to a diagram of the female generative organs drawn for her by a woman physician whom she had consulted on account of dysmenorrhea. This detail may act as a guide post to point out the sexual significance of the dream and to throw emphasis on the fact that there is something pathological about the patient's sex life.

The censor then disappears and in his absence the neurotic part of the dreamer's personality stands upright, quite out from under her control. In the following episode it seems that the vanished physician assumes the rôle of the psychoanalyst and his advice is ridiculed by the patient. The conversation which follows between the dreamer and MC shows that MC cannot be trapped into accepting un-wished-for aid by any such simple device and the two parts of the patient's personality have a good laugh at the expense of the analyst.

Briefly stated, the Prologue shows us the parent complex and its relation to the neurosis, the text of the whole dream to which we find reference in every act. We also see the dreamer's attitude toward the analysis; she has hopes, during the censor's advisory remarks, of getting the upper hand of the defects of personality which underlie her neurosis, but when she considers the advice she finds it ridiculous, and we reach the end of the Prologue with the neurotic traits completely out from under the dominance of the individual.

Act I

Sandy beach: childhood vacations—nature—Mother Nature. The sea brings to mind the common interpretation of the mother image.

Rear of the Hospital: Hospital stands for mature hopes and ambitions; *in rear* suggests something inferior to it, a regression from adult activities, also perhaps something "wrong".

Someone: the friend who did so much for her since coming to the Hospital; also a reduplication of herself.

Yellow sand: prostitution color (an association acquired in the earlier analysis): bright joyful, carefree, suggesting the happiness of infancy and childhood.

Airplanes: bird, phallus, male. (A common interpretation mentioned by Freud page 248).

Pistol and gun: warfare; because useless, the mock warfare between the sexes, coquetry (a departure from the common interpretation of the male organ).

Orange: oranges.

Turkish: harem.

In this act the dreamer plainly admits regressive wishes by appearing in conjunction with the two common mother images, nature itself and the sea, in a geographical situation indicative to her of inferiority. The yellow sand is significant in that the first association is prostitution and a definite prostitution wish was conscious though suppressed because of the attitude of society. The two sets of association given for this color call to mind the statement of Lay in his paper on "Reinterpretation of Childhood" that the prostitute is essentially an infantile personality. With her the dreamer has a vague individual occupying the dual position of friend and reduplication of herself. They watch the airplanes—that is, from the low level at which her sexual development has ceased she contemplates the male sex. She realizes perfectly that the weapon with which

she is provided to make an attack is inadequate, in other words she knows that she lacks the "come hither". Discussing the matter with herself or her friend, the warning not to shoot those with orange insignia tells the story of her penchant for admiring ineligible men. There is no need to attack Turkish airplanes, a Turk has a harem, is already "much married", has, in fact, surrendered. No interpretation was given for the orange insignia and the only association was oranges but the commonly accepted applications of this color coincide perfectly with the general tone of the episode. Evarts, in her paper on "Color Symbolism" which appeared in the *Psychoanalytic Review* for April, 1919, gives the following discussion of the color:

"Orange was the color of indissoluble marriage, and the wife of the flamen dialis in Rome was supposed to wear a robe of this color because divorce was prohibited to her. Saffron was sometimes chosen as a wedding veil as a good omen. . . . The orange wedding veil, as expressing the hope of lasting marriage, has come down to us changed to the wearing of orange blossoms, and its original significance has become successfully submerged."

Despite the conversation, they both shoot at the one airplane which comes nearest. This plane with its circular orange mark undoubtedly represents concretely the one heterosexual incident of the dreamer's life. The attempt is made half heartedly and is unsuccessful because of the inferiority of the weapons. The customary phallic significance of the pistol and gun and a suggested homosexual trend could not be confirmed by associations. It is probable also that the airplanes represented free libido and that a deeper and more fundamental meaning was present for the whole episode but it could not be unearthed.

This act, then, shows us the necessarily unsuccessful result of the half hearted attempt of the dreamer, who is still on an infantile sexual level, to make a heterosexual adjustment. Unsuccessful it must inevitably be, because the only attacks are made on those already spoken for—the father images.

Act II

Fat, greasy, dirty Indian woman: primeval race representing primal passions. The woman stands for the charwoman of the homosexual incident and also for the gross sexual portion of the patient's personality and is therefore represented with so many unpleasant attributes. The dreamer gave innumerable interpretations

to this character but it seems that because she stood fundamentally for infantile libido, she meant to the patient everything which resulted from that, even to the neurosis itself. By her very presence in the dream she indicates a homosexual wish. *Fat* suggests not only the charwoman but the patient's mother, thus showing that the homosexual complex had its origin in the mother complex.

Here is the outcome of the unsuccessful heterosexual episode, a homosexual situation. First, the Indian woman is the charwoman of the real incident, who must be disposed of in some way. Evidently the dreamer fancies that her friend may be induced to look after her and she graciously makes this suggestion, but even though the friend complies, the attempt is unsuccessful. The dreamer cooperates by holding the woman by the shoulder with her left hand, another reference to her homosexual activities. A deeper significance is here, however, as the associations indicate. The lower nature which the dreamer feels to be undesirable must be eliminated. It has been brought into prominence as a result of the balked attempt at heterosexual adjustment and must now be reckoned with. Its elimination must be accomplished, however, at no inconvenience to herself and to put the task of readjustment onto her friend, who has already been of material benefit to her, seems a logical procedure, especially as she thinks she can make the friend feel that the favor is conferred upon her. The dreamer makes a show of assisting but the attempt is a failure.

In brief, this act shows the throw-back to a homosexual level as a result of the heterosexual frustration and the dreamer's attitude toward this phase of the matter, a mild wish to do away with it provided someone else puts forth the effort.

Act III

Here the Indian woman has lost her rôle of charwoman and represents the undesirable elements of the patient's character and the undeveloped libido. As in the Prologue, they are for the moment subservient to the patient. The ambivalent character of the dreamer's attitude is shown by the pretense involved—the Indian woman has not actually been injured but must act for the moment as though she had. The dreamer thinks of her career and her adjustment to society (the crowd of men going to class) and finds that she is in no condition to meet the situation. She is loath to part with her neurosis, undesirable though it may be, yet its escape is probable if she arrays herself properly to carry on her life work. Her decision is in favor of the adjustment to society, however.

Furthermore here is another reference to the mother complex. As suggested in Act II the Indian woman also represents the mother, and it becomes evident that the dreamer knows that an adult adjustment to life can be made only after separation from the mother. Throughout her life she has been completely dominated by her mother so far as her actions went and this scene suggests the fulfillment of a wish to turn the tables and dominate the mother. The patient recalls an incident in her childhood in which, clad in a nightgown, she unintentionally exposed herself before her father, was severely rebuked by her mother, and suffered great mortification and chagrin. The wish of that period now finds a dream fulfillment. Here in the dream she plans a compromise and feels that she can properly appear before the men if she dons a kimono.

The function of this episode, then, is to show the dreamer's knowledge of the necessity of an adult adjustment to life, involving a loss of the neurosis and all the undeveloped sex life at the base of it, and a separation from the mother; such an adjustment she wishes to make by a compromise, however.

Act IV

In this act the dreamer affects her compromise with society by donning the blue kimono. As blue had acquired a meaning of homosexuality in the course of the patient's previous analysis, it shows the character of the compromise she hoped to accomplish. The blue kimono also calls to mind an incident which occurred about six months before the dream, when the patient had an obsession that she was wearing a blue kimono belonging to her friend, whereas she in reality wore her own pink kimono. This indicated an identification of herself with her friend, but as the friend was a mother image also an identification of herself with her mother. Thus her wish for maternity was fulfilled and furthermore her incest desires were satisfied. That she felt able to join the men in a kimono was doubtless due to the wish, which was very near the conscious, for a more intimate relationship with them than was afforded by the classroom.

She is back again in the room which is the scene of the Prologue, a place nearer to the scene of her adult labors than any of the preceding. From here she expects to go out to take up her work as an adult member of society.

Looking from this point of vantage back toward the seashore, she sees to her relief that society has taken care of her neurosis. Here is the solution of her problem—society cannot countenance

open expressions of undeveloped emotional life, therefore her homosexual problem is automatically solved. Furthermore the crowd is composed entirely of men and we find the homosexual tendencies of the dreamer now swamped by the heterosexual interests.

Epilogue

Front of the Hospital: a more desirable location than the previous scenes, though still not within the Hospital which represents the life work.

Glasses: vision, psychoanalytic insight.

The interpretation of this part of the dream is very unsatisfactory, associations were scarce and no spontaneous interpretations came to mind. It is easy to see that this situation arose because of the importance of it to the patient and because of the not altogether favorable light which it throws on the attitude of the dreamer. The former acts have dealt largely with regressive tendencies of the libido but this act concerns itself altogether with the progressive desires.

Without doubt the glasses represent the dreamer's insight and something is amiss which must be corrected. The dreamer wishes to have her insight improved by going to a psychoanalyst, her companion feels that she can make an adequate sublimation through her work. No actual decision is reached but the dreamer is left with the impression that she will go to the psychoanalyst, although the transference and its emotional influence are at work as well as the desire to be cured.

She then notices the porter's lodge through which she has passed daily on her way to class. It is large and a convalescent woman patient sits within, in a comfortable chair upon the steps. That is, the dreamer wishes herself not well, but better, well enough to be comfortable but still ill enough to be shielded and protected (the lodge). She hopes however that this adjustment will occur at a higher emotional level than her present one (the patient is sitting partway up the steps). The change of scene from the rear of the building to the front suggests a change from an abnormal to a normal sexual viewpoint. Symbols of adult sex life are abundant—the steps, the lodge through which they pass. All these things are seen after the matter of mending the glasses has been considered. At last a wish fulfillment belonging to adult sexual life has appeared, steps going up through a small building—a typical symbol of coitus.

DISCUSSION

The dream in its entirety seems to live up to Maeder's theory expressed in his monograph on the Dream Problem, that a dream should concern itself not only with the regressive tendencies of the libido but also with the progressive tendencies. Throughout the entire first half of the dream regression is the main feature, but beginning with the entrance of the crowd of men we get the first active desire to make an adult social adjustment. The regressive features fade and the progressive take their place until in the Epilogue we find the outspoken wish for improvement and a suggestion of the means to be used (psychoanalysis). A similarity may be seen between this dream and one which appears in Dooley's Study of a Manic Depressive Psychosis. There the dreamer is combing her hair and a snake drops out; this turns into a little black manikin and sings a very beautiful song about the oppression of its race, the dreamer marvelling that so ugly a thing could produce such beautiful poetry. The snake and manikin represent the undeveloped libido and correspond to the Indian woman of the dream under discussion. The reconstruction had already begun at the time of the manikin dream whereas the nurse had not even made a thorough analysis when this dream occurred.

Each individual appearing in the dream had more than one significance and several different interpretations were forthcoming for each episode. Each individual, also, stood for some phase of the dreamer's libido.

In its entirety the dream recapitulates the struggles of the infantile libido and gives the present attitude of the dreamer towards her difficulties. In every episode is seen a wish fulfillment, not only the wish to deal adequately with the neurosis and get well, but also minor wishes dealing with the stage of development depicted in the episode.

A PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF SHAKSPERE'S CORIOLANUS

BY JACKSON EDMUND TOWNE, A.M.

The early historical accounts of the career of Coriolanus contradict each other in their details, and no one account can be regarded as having superior historical accuracy. The editors of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* feel that it can be stated with an approximation to historical accuracy that the early Roman, Caius Marcius Coriolanus, was given his surname in honor of his bravery displayed at the siege of Corioli, in 493 B.C., during a war against the Volscians. The following year, when there was a famine in Rome, Coriolanus advised that the people should not be relieved by supplies obtained from Sicily, unless they would consent to the abolition of their tribunes. For this he was accused by the tribunes, and, being condemned to exile, took refuge with his friend Attius Tullius, king of the Volscians. A pretext for a quarrel with Rome was found, and Coriolanus, in command of the Volscian army, advanced against his native city. In vain the first men of Rome entreated for moderate terms. He would agree to nothing less than the restoration to the Volscians of all their land, and their admission among the Roman citizens. A mission of the chief priests also failed. At last, persuaded by his mother, Volumnia, and his wife Virgilia, he led back the Volscian army, and restored the territory he had conquered. Then, according to Fabius, the earliest of the commentators, and so perhaps the most accurate, Coriolanus lived on in exile among the Volscians and died at a ripe old age.

The story of a bold warrior losing his triumph because so "bound to's mother" is clearly but a variation of the most essentially tragic of all myths, that of *Œdipus*. The story of Coriolanus is naturally more tellingly tragic if Volumnia's influence over her son can be shown to have been one of if not the chief cause of his actual death; and this fact can surely be counted among the reasons why such a conclusion to the tale of Coriolanus (his death by assassination at the hands of those whom he would not lead into Rome) ultimately became the accepted conclusion, despite Fabius, the earliest of the commentators. (See the extended account of the career of Corio-

lanus by the historian Dionysius, which served Plutarch as a chief source.)

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* points out that the Coriolanus legend is considered the nucleus of the tradition which accentuates the great influence exercised by and the respect shown to Roman matrons in early times. In re-telling the story of Coriolanus neither the world's greatest biographer nor the world's greatest dramatist emphasize that tradition. Why not? Among other reasons, surely because both Plutarch and Shakspeare, being superlative artists, are especially concerned with the most universally human element in their story, and so naturally emphasize the psychological effect, as distinguished from what might have been merely the traditional effect, of Volumnia upon her son.

Plutarch begins his biography of Coriolanus with information of considerable significance to the psychoanalyst, namely, that the early Roman exile was "left an orphan, and brought up under the widowhood of his mother. . . ." And very shortly thereafter we learn of the extent to which the mature man remained under the maternal influence. The following passage is surely pregnant with revelation to Freudians.

And, whereas others made glory the end of their daring, the end of his glory was his mother's gladness; the delight she took to hear him praised and to see him crowned, and her weeping for joy in his embraces, rendered him, in his own thoughts, the most honored and the most happy person in the world. Epaminondas is similarly said to have acknowledged his feeling, that it was the greatest felicity of his whole life that his father and mother survived to hear of his successful generalship and his victory at Leuctra. And he had the advantage, indeed, to have both his parents partake with him, and enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune. But Marcius believing himself bound to pay his mother Volumnia all that gratitude and duty which would have belonged to his father, had he also been alive, could never satiate himself in his tenderness and respect to her. He took a wife, also, at her request and wish, and continued, even after he had children, to live still with his mother, without parting families.

Plutarch well realizes that in yielding to his mother before prostrate Rome Coriolanus was not actuated entirely by noble sentiments.

. . . the noble thing would have been, not to spare his country for his mother's sake, but his mother in and with his country; since both his mother and his wife were part and parcel of that endangered country. After harshly repelling public supplications, the entreaties of ambas-

sadors, and the prayers of priests, to concede all as a private favor to his mother was less an honor to her than a dishonor to the city which thus escaped, in spite, it would seem, of its own demerits, through the intercession of a single woman. Such a grace could, indeed, seem merely invidious, ungracious, and unreasonable in the eyes of both parties; he retreated without listening to the persuasions of his opponents, or asking the consent of his friends. The origin of all lay in his unsociable, supercilious, and self-willed disposition, which, in all cases, is offensive to most people; and when combined with a passion for distinction, passes into absolute savageness and mercilessness.

External evidence on the date of Shakspeare's *Coriolanus* is exceptionally scanty. Internal evidence of meter and style point decisively to its being a late play, and scholars are generally agreed on a date near 1609. Although Shakspeare followed Plutarch's life closely, as he did in the case of Julius Cæsar and Antony and Cleopatra, he nevertheless made certain changes in his dramatization of the career of the Roman exile which inevitably tend to portray *Coriolanus* as more nearly a typical "Œdipus." We need not be surprised at this, for Dr. Ernest Jones, in his study of "The Problem of Hamlet and the 'Œdipus-Complex'" (first published in the *American Journal of Psychology*, Vol. XXI, 1910, 72-113), and Dr. I. H. Coriat, in his *The Hysteria of Lady Macbeth* (first published by Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1912), have already shown us that Shakspeare's grasp of a Freudian interpretation of human motives was almost supernatural.

In Plutarch it is the friend, Valeria, who induces the wife and mother of *Coriolanus* to go to plead with him, and Valeria's share in the action is treated with considerable fullness. This is not represented by Shakspeare at all, save that Valeria accompanies *Volumnia* on the deputation to *Coriolanus*. *Virgilia*, *Coriolanus*' wife, Shakspeare notably subordinates throughout his play. *Volumnia* is more bold than in Plutarch in the dominance she exercises over her warrior son. She undertakes her mission to *Coriolanus* far more confidently than in Plutarch, for she actually believes:

... There's no man in the world
More bound to's mother. ...

Shakspeare is also at pains to show, *what Plutarch does not mention at all*, that the arrogance of *Coriolanus* towards the common crowd, which so contributes to his undoing, is partly the result of maternal suggestion. *Coriolanus* speaks of his mother:

... who was wont
 To call them (*the common crowd*) woolen vassals, things created
 To buy and sell with groats, to show bare heads
 In congregations, to yawn, be still and wonder,
 When one but of my ordinance stood up
 To speak of peace or war.

In order to forecast the subservience of Coriolanus' will to his mother's, Shakspeare furnishes us with an excellent preliminary illustration, drawn not from Plutarch at all. Volumnia is made to add her plea to those of Menenius, Cominius, and the Senators that Coriolanus go and concilate the tribunes. The proud warrior is all protest:

Away, my disposition, and possess me
 Some harlot's spirit! my throat of war be turn'd,
 Which quired with my drum, into a pipe
 Small as an eunuch, or the virgin voice
 That babies lulls asleep! the smiles of knaves
 Tent in my cheeks, and schoolboys' tears take up
 The glasses of my sight! a beggar's tongue
 Make motion through my lips, and my arm'd knees,
 Who bow'd but in my stirrup, bend like his
 That hath received an alms! I will not do't;
 Lest I surcease to honor mine own truth,
 And by my body's action teach my mind
 A most inherent baseness.

But despite this vigorous protest it takes only a few more words from Volumnia and Coriolanus meekly accedes:

Pray, be content:
 Mother, I am going to the market-place. . . .

This scene is but a prelude, of course, to the most important scene in the play, in which Volumnia wins Coriolanus not to wreak his vengeance upon Rome. As Denton J. Snider, in his *Shakespeare's Dramas*, points out, it is when Volumnia concludes her plea, which bids fair to have been made in vain, by turning away with lofty contempt and actually disowning her motherhood, that Coriolanus quickly gives in. Volumnia exclaims:

This fellow had a Volscian to his mother.

And Denton Snider comments: "This is too much for Coriolanus. His strongest tie he can allow to be severed; he might even contemplate his mother dead; still he would be her son. But disowned—denied to be her offspring—that cuts deeper than her death. He yields. . . ."

Unfortunately there is a mechanical stiffness about the famous scene, a presentation of the story in its conventional form with too little added inspiration from the dramatist. We can note in this scene alone one of the chief reasons why Shakspeare does not achieve a masterpiece in *Coriolanus*. Though clearly grasping the tragic essence of his theme as it was capable of being understood in his own time, and more than dimly perceiving the tragic essence of his theme as it is now capable of being understood, in a somewhat more enlightened time, Shakspeare yet writes on the whole too mechanically of *Coriolanus*, and we must rate the play, with *Titus Andronicus* and *Timon of Athens*, far below the other seven great tragedies.

Following in the wake of nine out of ten critics who have written on *Coriolanus*, William Allan Neilson, President of Smith College, in his *Student's Cambridge Edition of Shakspeare's complete works*, speaks of "the intolerable arrogance of the hero driving him on to destruction." But it is rather the collapse of his arrogance which actually causes the hero's destruction! Only because of that collapse is Aufidius able to stir the Volscians to sufficient anger, even with the help of *Coriolanus'* recovered arrogance, to make good the threat:

... therefore shall he die,
And I'll renew me in his fall. . . .

And Shakspeare makes *Coriolanus* deliberately prophesy that his subservience to the maternal wish will by itself alone lead to consequences nothing short of fatal:

... O my mother, mother! O!
You have won a happy victory to Rome;
But, for your son, believe it,
Most dangerously you have with him prevail'd,
If not most mortal to him.

And in this Shakspeare but follows Plutarch:

"O mother! what is it you have done to me?" . . . "You have gained a victory," said he, "fortunate enough for the Romans, but destructive to your son; whom you, though none else, have defeated."

In answer to those who see the fall of *Coriolanus* as exclusively due to his pride, Edward Dowden, from Shakspeare: *A Critical Study*, can be quoted as follows: "The struggle, prodigious and pathetic, begins, between all that is massive, stern, inflexible and all that is tender and winning in his nature; and the strength is subdued by the weakness. It is as if an oak were rent and uprooted not by

the stroke of lightning, but by some miracle of gentle yet irresistible music. And while Coriolanus yields under the influence of an instinct not to be controlled, he possesses the distinct consciousness that such yielding is mortal to himself. He has come to hate and to conquer, but he must needs perish and love." And in his *Shakspere Primer*, Dowden writes of Coriolanus that: "his haughtiness cannot really place him above nature. In the presence of his wife, his boy, and his mother, the strong man gives way, and is restored once more to human love. *And so his fate comes upon him.*" (Italics mine.)

One group of commentators upon Shakspere's *Coriolanus* neglect the human element in the tragedy by writing of it as though it were too exclusively a mere drama of political conflict between the Roman patricians and plebeians. Hazlitt berates Shakspere for siding entirely with the unfairly privileged patrician class: "The whole dramatic moral of *Coriolanus* is that those who have little shall have less, and that those who have much shall take all that others have left. The people are poor; therefore they ought to be beaten. They work hard; therefore they ought to be treated like beasts of burden. They are ignorant: therefore they ought not to be allowed to feel that they want food, or clothing, or rest, that they are enslaved, oppressed, and miserable." Stopford Brooke, in his *On Ten Plays of Shakespeare*, runs to the other extreme from Hazlitt and writes: "Politically considered, the play is the artistic record of the victory of a people, unrighteously oppressed, over their oppressor. . . ."

The truth surely lies somewhere between the views of Hazlitt and Brooke. Shakspere neither loved intensely nor hated intensely what Coriolanus stood for politically. In the words of Dowden: "Shakspere's drama is the drama of individuality, including under this name all those bonds of duty and of affection which attach man to his fellowman, but not impersonal principles and ideas."

Hazlitt's comment is obviously a piece of irrational prejudice; and Brooke's viewpoint, which goes on to assume that Coriolanus is morally redeemed in yielding to his mother's influence, is none too reasonable, for it springs from an underestimation of the moral strength of Coriolanus' character, as the result of Brooke's too romantically chivalrous judgment of Volumnia. Let me quote from a comment on *Coriolanus* by Professor Richard Moulton, of the University of Chicago, in his *The Moral System of Shakespeare*: "The compromising spirit so clearly described underlies Volumnia's action in the final crisis. The sympathies of the modern reader are

with her, for she represents the modern ideal of patriotism. But, once the ancient point of view has been caught, it must be admitted that from this standpoint even patriotism is a compromise with principle; it is not pure devotion to the ideal of government, but devotion to that particular government with which the individual has been connected by the accident of birth. Coriolanus, as a servant of the Volscian state, exhibits the same absolute fidelity to the public service at all personal cost which once he had cherished for Rome. Volumnia on her knees before the conqueror appears as a force disturbing faithful service by motives of sentiment and passion."

No psychoanalysis of Shakspeare's Coriolanus would be complete without mention of the instance of a memory lapse which Shakspeare ingeniously adds to his dramatization from Plutarch of the episode in which Coriolanus begs of Cominius the freedom of his Volscian host. After reading Dr. Jones on Hamlet and Dr. Coriat on Lady Macbeth, it seems no exaggeration to feel that though writing several centuries before the publication of Freud's *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, Shakspeare's knowledge and insight into life was deep enough to conceive that it would be most natural, after a hard fight, for such a man as Coriolanus temporarily to forget the name of one who was really an enemy despite kindness manifested in the past.

Coriolanus: I sometime lay here in Corioli
At a poor man's house; he used me kindly:
He cried to me; I saw him prisoner;
But then Aufidius was within my view,
And wrath o'erwhelm'd my pity: I request you
To give my poor host freedom.
Cominius: O, well begg'd!
Were he the butcher of my son, he should
Be free as is the wind. Deliver him, Titus.
Lartius: Marcius, his name?
Coriolanus: By Jupiter, forgot:
I am weary; yea, my memory is tired.
Have we no wine here?

And Freud might well have quoted in his masterly little monograph, *Reflections on War and Death*, the surprisingly apt satirical comments on war made by the Servingmen in Scene 5 of Act 4 of *Coriolanus*:

"*Third Serv*: To-morrow; to-day; presently: you shall have the drum struck up this afternoon: 'tis, as it were, a parcel of their feast, and to be executed ere they wipe their lips.

Sec. Serv: Why, then we shall have a stirring world again. This peace is nothing, but to rust iron, increase tailors, and breed ballad-makers.

First Serv: Let me have war, say I; it exceeds peace as far as day does night; it's spritely, waking, audible, and full of vent. Peace is a very apoplexy, lethargy, mull'd, deaf, sleepy, insensible; a getter of more bastard children than war's a destroyer of men.

Sec. Serv: 'Tis so: and as war, in some sort, may be said to be a ravisher, so it cannot be denied but peace is a great maker of cuckolds.

First Serv: Ay, and it makes men hate one another.

Third Serv: Reason; because they then less need one another. The wars for my money. I hope to see Romans as cheap as Volscians. . . ."

Professor Stuart P. Sherman, of the University of Illinois, wrote in *The Nation*, for April 27, 1916, of *Coriolanus* as: "the hero of a tragedy notably devoid of all 'sex-interest,' vainly striving to free himself from the natural bond of blood and sonship, vainly protesting that he will never be a gosling to obey instinct." Freudian research has long since proved that "the natural bond of blood and sonship" is by no means "devoid of all 'sex-interest,'" and the time has now surely come for the more general recognition of this fact by all critics of literature and art.

RELIGION IN THE LIGHT OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

BY CAVENDISH MOXON, M.A.

LOS ALTOS, CAL.

The study of religious phenomena by means of the psycho-analytic method has already led to results of immense importance for all who have either a theoretical or practical interest in the subject. Indeed Freud's theory of the origin of existing kinds of religion is comparable to Darwin's theory of the origin of existing kinds of animals. Darwin gave the world some good reasons for believing in the evolution of complex animals from simple organisms; and Darwinians have shown that elaborate forms of religious faith have developed from simpler and cruder symbols. Even believers in a divine revelation usually admit that some determining factors of the new truth are to be discovered in previous religious symbolism. Christianity, for example, did not come down from heaven ready made; its roots are clearly seen to lie in the soil of its Jewish and Greek environment. It is generally agreed that religions grow; but the manner of their growth has been the subject of many conflicting theories.

It is the work of Freud and his followers that has given the world a clearer idea of the forces that cause religions to spring up, develop and decay in almost every society. In the light of the new psychology of the unconscious, religion appears no longer either as an inexplicable miracle of divine grace or as a rational device of crafty and greedy priests. In certain conditions of life and culture, religion is as natural a product of the psyche as poetry, phantasy and other means of diversion from painful work. The Freudian is not content to accept the religious man's reasons for the faith that is in him. These "reasons" are discovered often to be a mere after-thought, a rationalization or a forcing of unconscious tendencies and desires into forms that are acceptable to the moral consciousness. Religious belief gives a symbolic satisfaction for hidden impulses, lowly emotions and primitive ideas. The psycho-analysts have proved that in religion the wish is verily father to the thought.

It is no longer a mystery that many unreasonable beliefs have the power to persist in spite of repeated criticism or disproof. The

rationalist is often amazed that beliefs undermined by science are not at once abandoned by all reasoning men. The Freudian knows that religion is not primarily a rational product. Therefore no merely rational attack can overthrow a belief that satisfies the deepest instincts and emotions of man. Reason is used in religion for the confirmation of the hopes that love begets.

The psyche, according to Freud, is a dynamic process. Sensations enter it. Images are made and stored either in the fore-conscious mind as memory or in the unconscious mind whence they cannot normally be recalled. Affective energy is there piled up ready for practical use. When the sensations are pleasant the psyche desires to keep them before it. In order to restore the pleasure that is lost by their disappearance the psyche may first try to bring them back in imagination. The infant soon learns that this hallucinatory method gives very little satisfaction. The only way left is so to move the body in relation to outer reality that the pleasurable sensations may be restored and the energy expended. In order to understand the religious experience it is necessary to study man's strivings for psycho-physical pleasure from earliest infancy. Even experiences in the first years of childhood are now known to exercise a permanently directive force upon the later mental and moral and religious growth.

The first stage of human development is marked by self centred interest and pleasure. The infant loves its own body and its own soul. Then comes the stage of object love and this is naturally directed towards the mother, the father and other members of the family circle. All but perverted or regressive individuals pass from self love to family love, but many fail to proceed from family love to the choice of a lover for marriage from a wider circle of interest. Too often the child's love force is fixed upon an indulgent parent. When conscience dawns, this parental love appears as an intolerable incestuous thought which must be vigorously repressed. In the unconscious it still lives on and seeks just the sort of symbolic satisfaction that religion offers.

When the development of the love life is normally complete a happy marriage is possible. The surplus energy can then be applied to such impersonal objects of interest, desire and devotion as science, art, and social reform. If no direct and natural outlet for love appears, the mental and bodily health are in danger of breaking down in the vain attempt to repress the whole sexual energy or to displace it wholly on to altruistic or supernatural substitutes at the bidding of conscience and convention.

The love which is either unconsciously fixed on a parent or unable to find a satisfying parent substitute seeks various symbolic satisfactions as a compromise. Hence it is at puberty that the need occurs for God as substitute for the father or the grandfather. Religious conversion therefore usually happens at this period of great moral repression and psychical advance. The convert in his time of stress reverts to the primitive mode of symbolic thought. The symbol serves his purpose because it is a product of the unconscious. It is a compromise between unconscious, forbidden desires and the demands of the conscious mind. The symbol satisfies the deeper needs of the person who is consciously ignorant of its meaning. There is thus a remarkable similarity of the symbols used in all the products of the unconscious in wit, dreams, insanity, poetry, mythology, theology and cultus. The symbols indeed are many, but the simple ideas symbolized are few. Symbols represent ideas of the self, the closest blood relatives and the events of birth, love, and death. These primitive interests form the roots of all our highest activities. Mental progress, says Dr. Ernest Jones (see his chapter on Symbolism in his *Papers on Psychoanalysis*) includes ever a double movement—first a construction of complex from simple symbols and afterwards the destruction or unmasking of these symbols by more adequate ideas of reality. The symbol-building tendency of the mind is ever making creeds and sacraments, and the sceptical tendency to separate the kernel of truth from its symbolic husks is ever breaking up the old beliefs and rites.

The Freudian analysis of mental process is opposed to the religious claim that the "spiritual reality" is the cause of its symbols. The fact appears to be that the concrete symbol is always prior to its abstract product. The contrary view is only plausible because one concrete idea or symbol is sometimes consciously used to express another collateral idea that has sprung from the same root and grown into a more abstract form. In this case the concrete is not strictly speaking the symbol of the abstract idea, but merely in associative connection with it. The Bull calf symbol in the Old Testament is not caused by the idea of a Creator. Both the abstract idea of the Creator and the concrete image of the Bull are symbolic projections of Man's creative life force and love energy. "The Father" in the New Testament is not the symbolic product of an abstract idea of a being of infinitely tender care for his world. Both ideas are substitutes for the image of the human father; only "the Father" is a more concrete symbol than the modern metaphysical

conception of the Godhead. Both ideas are produced to satisfy the same infantile cravings of the unconscious life at the instigation of the disappointments and sorrows of adult experience.

The defenders of God's objective reality often support their belief by the evidence of the saints and prophets who feel God's presence and inspiration as a force external to their soul. But the externality or transcendence of God follows naturally from our theory of God as a symbol projected by the heart's desires. God is a product of the unconscious desire for a parental authority. To the consciousness of his worshippers he therefore appears to come from on high to issue commands to his sons and servants. The poets often express a similar feeling that their "inspired" verse came into their mind as if from some external source beyond the control of their own intelligence and will. And many mediums sincerely imagine that their unconscious writing and speech proceed from a disembodied or absent intelligence.

There is abundant psycho-analytic proof of the jealous hate felt by many boys for their father who is for them the embodiment of repressive authority and the rival for the affections of the mother. Consequently in some religions there is a belief in the death or the maiming of the divine Father who has received the hostile feelings originally felt for the human father. Parental love is symbolized by the loving Father God in religions that express the reaction of conscious civilized piety against savage infantile hate.

Man's substitution of a perfect divine Father for his own imperfect human father shows the strong tendency of the mind to project its feelings on to the symbolic objects of its desires. After transferring love and hate from the human to the divine Father, the next step is to imagine that the God likewise feels love or hate towards his worshipper. Indeed these contrary feelings are frequently found to coexist in the heart of men and Gods. In cases of what Freud calls the ambivalence of emotions the analysis shows that the love is usually conscious and the hate or dislike unconscious in normal adults. And in religion the vengeance and "the wrath of God" are usually ascribed to motives of righteous justice. The Christian God is said to love the sinner and hate the sin. Human love is cruel as well as kind. The sadistic component of love finds its pleasure in giving pain to the object loved; the masochistic element enjoys a passive subjection to the harsh domination of the lover. Both these tendencies of love are satisfied by religious doctrine. God is kind and cruel. If he rewards some men in heaven he punishes others in

hell. Some theologians have even suggested that the saved will enjoy the heavenly vision of the damned in hell.

In the light of these discoveries the harsh sounding phrase "the fear of God" becomes clear. It seems no longer strange that the worshipper who felt both fear and love for his father should extend these feelings to the totem or the god that is his father's substitute. In spite of his emphasis upon the Father's love, even Jesus taught men to fear God because he wills to send the wicked to hell. By ascribing fatherly love and eternal punishment to the same God, Jesus betrays the conflicting emotions of love, dislike and fear that must have torn the unconscious depths of his soul. We may infer from the last words on the Cross (according to the earliest Gospel) that in his last agony Jesus' trust was mastered by an uprush of fear that God had forsaken him and would let him perish. It is only true of the conscious self that "perfect love driveth out fear"; and in times of great mental stress even the strong religious will-power may be incapable of holding down the emotions that still persist in the unconscious.

It is the fashion for men of faith to sneer at the old theory that religion is a product of fear. And men of science agree that fear is to be regarded as a stimulus to other and deeper causes of religion, and not as an adequate explanation of belief. The psycho-analytical school have shown that fear ever plays a very important part in the creation of gods and in their subsequent worship. Fear is the determining stimulus to the regressive myth-making phantasy. Of course the fear that stimulates modern religious faith is not a primitive fear of certain places or persons. It is rather a complex dread of life and its tasks as a whole. When dangers threaten mental peace or physical health, the instinct of fear counsels men to retreat from an intolerable situation. Viewed thus religion appears to be a psychical flight from a dark and threatening reality. The sensitive person who feels inwardly incapable of resisting the blows of fortune seeks escape from the real present in a religious world of phantasy or faith. Religion is indeed a safety valve for the strained mind. It is a satisfaction for the deep emotional needs, that life often leaves unsatisfied. Hence not even absorption in scientific research makes a man immune from relapse into the infantile attitude of religious emotion. Indeed, the strain and weariness of intellectual pursuits proves too hard for many persons unless they have an adequate emotional outlet in human affection. Especially prone to religious relapse is old age with its weakening of higher mental and moral

control and its increased longing for a peaceful and childish attitude to life. It is evident, then, that the old saying is so far correct that fear is indeed a stimulus to the making of gods and to their worship.

We have now to consider how the stimulus works. The fear of the dark present when it is intolerable, causes the life force to shrink back from reality with its awful problems and tasks. The psychic energy thus dammed up must find some outlet: the psyche imperatively demands a more restful activity. It therefore flows back towards the infantile way of life, and up towards a phantasy world of light and peace and love.

At this point history supports the psycho-analytic theory. The apocalyptic literature of the Jews coincides with a period of extreme national misfortune and disillusionment. The darker appeared the present earthly life the brighter seemed the vision of the imminent kingdom and the more vivid grew men's faith in the King, the Saviour, the Son, the Father.

Thus are the gods born of the fear which drives men back from intellectual and moral manhood to a state of infantile dependence. Religion is consequently to be regarded as a retrograde phenomenon.

The surrender of the affections and the will to a heavenly Parent, Guardian and Guide is an enormous barrier to free individual thought, activity and social development. All progress depends upon the loosening of the bonds of love and fear of the parents and their heavenly substitutes. And the psycho-analysts have proved that many wrecked lives, unhappy marriages and serious diseases are ultimately due to just such a fixation of love on a parent image as is fostered by religious dependence and filial faith.

Religion promises an unfailing Parental Providence when the natural parents fail to fulfil their task. Instead of setting man free from his parental complexes, religion attempts to cure the sick soul by providing a socially acceptable outlet for what is at bottom an incestuous remnant of infancy. Religion is, therefore, at best a less evil than the direct indulgence of forbidden love. But faith cannot lead a man to the highest levels because it never allows him to face and overcome the infantile parental and family complexes, which hinder the displacement of the full force of his sexual energy on to objects, pursuits and ideals that benefit both self and society. No doubt many weak and diseased persons have been kept in a state of sanity and peace by their religious devotions. But they are apt to lose all interest in reality by their morbid absorption in a world of fantasy. Besides, the peace that is a vital need for the feeble is a

dangerous drug for the strong. By turning men's love towards imaginary objects, religion robs society of the vast sum of energy that is used in prayer and ascetic self-mortification.

The religious myths, doctrines, and sacraments imply an unconscious transference of love energy. The highest aim of humanity is to attain a clear understanding of life's task and a conscious use of superfluous energy for the social good. Religion is a strong temptation when no attractive or safe outlet for energy appears. Ego-centric joys of mystic pleasure often seduce the weary and heavy laden on life's way. The man who has the power and opportunity to love and live with all his might needs no religious consolation. The infirm, the lonely and the aged alone can rightly choose the mystic way of infantile and hallucinatory satisfaction. The religious apologist often admits that not all men are equally capable of religious experience but (not being a sceptic) he generally ascribes the widespread incapacity for religion either to divine predestination or to human sin. The new psychology makes both these theories unnecessary. Belief in God is a product of displaced, projected and personified love force. The degree of a man's religious faith and the intensity of his God consciousness depends therefore on the amount of his sex hunger that is available for sublimation. The person who has found full satisfaction directly in marriage and indirectly in social service has no time or energy to spare for communion with a personal God.

ABSTRACTS

IMAGO

Zeitschrift für Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf die Geisteswissenschaften

ABSTRACTED BY LOUISE BRINK,

OF NEW YORK CITY

(Vol. III, No. 6)

1. The Choice of a Mate and Marriage. HANS BLÜHER. 101-101
2. Neurotic Exogamy. A Contribution to the Correspondence in the Psychic Life of Neurotics and Savages. DR. KARL ABRAHAM. 102-102
3. The Dismemberment Motive in Myth. HERBERT SILBERER. 103-103
4. Sexual Prototypes in Simple Inventions. DR. PHIL. FRITZ GIESE. 104-104

1. *The Choice of a Mate and Marriage.*—The question continually presents itself whether the individual and society are best served by the institution of marriage or of promiscuity. The problem is considered usually in the light of the question whether marriage is an externally imposed institution or one which has arisen naturally from within. The writer believes that if the unconscious is examined there will be found there determinants for the institution of marriage in the nature of the choice of a partner. The hypothesis that marriage has grown out of a preceding state of promiscuity, he believes, is based upon insufficiently supported deductions. In looking instead for unconscious motives one has to ask why man makes an individual choice of a permanent partner as over against many possible love objects. Little can be learned from a biological investigation of the problem.

Blüher considers the question by starting with the Odyssey, which he believes permits of a less prejudiced view of the comparison between the man's desire for one partner and the enjoyment of a number of love objects than the later Christian conception in literature would afford. For in the ancient tale the question is considered more as a purely psychological and not an ethical one. The Odyssey is unmistakably an epic of marriage. The longing of Odysseus for his wife Penelope runs through all the varied tale of his adventures. Other female charmers are typified by Calypso and Circe, to whom no blame is attached, who are desirable objects in themselves, who are young where Penelope is

an older matron and yet cannot tempt Odysseus from his loyal longing for the wife. In the same apparently inexplicable manner, one object, often neither rich nor beautiful, triumphs over other far more desirable objects. With the one there is a compelling attraction, a feeling that this alone is "the right one."

The commonly heard expression that the woman of choice "has something about her reminding one of home" betrays the infantile motive at the basis of such choice. This accords with the fact that infantile experiences especially in relation to the sex life have the strongest determining force over later life. Blüher illustrates this truth by the experience of an acquaintance who had unusual power over women, was exceptionally endowed with attractive qualities and had a wide and apparently successful experience with women wherever he traveled. Yet he confessed that none really obtained any hold upon him or gave him any satisfaction and sense of purpose through his love life. Some psychoanalytic questioning elicited the fact that this state of things, an attitude on his part and not the result of outer circumstances, was due to sexual activity in childhood with a sister, which was concerned with touching, looking and excretory erotic. This activity was given up later for a good comradeship with the sister. Behind this attachment was also a deep one for the mother with jealousy of the father. The man recognized that now for him women were divided into two classes; the one represented his sexual desire to the sister extended over in a sexual phantasy exaggerated to include the world, but seeking objects differing from the original object, sexual attraction toward whom he had put away from consciousness. The other class was represented by one object like the sister, a woman toward whom he was not stimulated sexually but who alone appealed to him as an object of genuine satisfaction. He later became engaged to her and in the slow development of his sexual feeling toward her typified the contrast in the two sexual attitudes. The feeling toward the woman like the childhood object must grow into the sex relationship by a slow process, while at the same time overcoming the incest barriers, while the feeling toward unlike objects who represent a flight from the infantile experiences flames up suddenly but briefly. Blüher compares the two phenomena to the two forms of oxidation, which are essentially the same. Underneath the love attraction sex is in either case the basis, but in one case there is sudden conflagration, in the other an only gradually observable process. In the woman at puberty the incest barrier sets up resistance and waiting until transference is later made upon the rightful substitute, while in the male the incest object is cut out but there is excessive seeking of an object unlike the original one. The repressed and refined inclination toward the Penelope type is for a long time only Platonic friendship. Only slowly does the sexual come to

its place with this object. Often of course the infantile prevents marriage altogether or causes impotence. The infantile object in this case is not a type for a series of objects but continues to stand exclusively alone. Sometimes again each object of the series partakes of the incest taboo and only the opposite can call forth the libido, which might be called a negative choice.

The writer illustrates the same distinction between objects of choice in the case of homosexual love. In the homosexual the same infantile components are present in experience but these natures tend to inversion as the means of flight from the incest. The homosexual then has a different object from the heterosexual and therefore his love experiences different modifications. Blüher cites an instance of a homosexual who showed the same readiness to win and attract men as in the other individual had been shown toward women. Here again there was only one object however in whom there was serious interest. In this case too it was a similarity to the character of the mother and of a brother brought to light from the unconscious which attracted the individual. There was manifested here also a resistance to actual sex experience with this special object. The liking for the brother had been repressed from memory and a dislike had taken its place. The latter had arisen when the brother had witnessed the subject's participation in masturbation with other boys. This had roused shame in the subject and from that time he had turned to his own sex while his brother had looked down upon him. Each one driven from the original infantile attachment creates substitute objects, the inverted person choosing those of his own sex. Fixation upon the mother works here to turn not only from the mother but from all of her sex.

Thus in heterosexual or in homosexual life it is found that the psychosexual attitude has the tendency to separate toward two types of love objects. What may be called the Penelope type has its roots in earliest childhood. The protest against this infantile love fixation however sets up incest barriers and the love impulse takes flight into seeking of varied but unsatisfying objects. In the carefully chosen woman the mother and sister type are finally discovered again and this love can pass over as the years go on into lasting friendship, while the objects of the other type soon lose in value. The Calypso-Circe type is displaced and condemned by the Penelope type. The writer believes that there should arise in culture a better provision for the former as well as the latter type of object and protection from unjust condemnation by the latter.

2. *Neurotic Exogamy*.—Abraham calls attention to the fact that the neurotic's inner compulsion to avoid marriage with a member of his own race or nationality, a phenomenon frequently to be observed, corresponds to the taboo which forbids primitive man sexual relations with

a member of his tribe. Analogously such an avoidance on the part of the neurotic might be called "neurotic exogamy." This and the regulation known ethnologically as exogamy arise from the same inner cause.

In the case of the neurotic there is an individual flight from the incest object. In the relation to this first object of the libido there may be many degrees of reaction. These may vary from actual incest, not unknown among psychopathological subjects, to certain compromise relations, such as the marriage with an individual a little less closely related than the original objector to complete avoidance of women of the same race or nationality. Abraham gives examples of this avoidance, where race, speech, personal appearance in the love object must any or all of them be entirely different from those of the mother or sister. There may be observed also the inability to detach the libido from the original object and fix it upon any one of the new series, who although so different fails really to attach the libido. Sometimes the motivation for such escape from the original object is conscious sometimes only unconscious.

Mixed marriages therefore are often due to this flight from incest. The same cause operates in driving a boy from home in the early years after puberty and leading him to seek his home as well as his love object in strange lands. Along with this strong fixation of the libido upon those nearest related, which underlies these phenomena, there is always found through analysis also an outspoken hatred toward one's own family. Sometimes this is directed toward the mother as an expression of a disappointed incest tendency, or it expresses the other side of the Oedipus complex and is directed toward the father.

3. *The Dismemberment Motive in Myth.*—This motive, the author states, is a very common one in myth. No doubt it is a much over-determined motive and it certainly appears in many forms. The incest idea is a dominant one in its creation, whether it represents emasculation of the father by the son, or a punishment on the other hand by the father upon the son. It expresses also an infantile conception of birth as a revivification after a previous dismemberment, or it represents the relaxation of the phallus after erection. The motive of punishment is found in the Osiris myth, where incest with the sister Nephthys is followed by dismemberment of Osiris with loss of the phallus through her husband Let. The war of vengeance later undertaken by Osiris's son against Let contains the dismemberment motive often repeated in transference to other organs than the phallus. Not only punishment but the desire for mastery is evidenced in this Osiris story as it is also in the later northern Hagen-Siegfried myth. Rivalry between father and son or between brothers for the same woman is another feature found to be present in at least one version of the Osiris myth, and also the saving of the mother from the father.

In the story of Medea with its feature of dismemberment through her cruel arts associated with rejuvenation, the father-son conflict is unmistakably in evidence. The preceding story of Phrixos, the son of King Athamas and Nephele, saved from sacrifice through the ram with the golden fleece, represents the defenseless son saved from the fearful father through the intervention of the mother. There is to be found also the motive of the younger generation as disturber of the relations of the parents, which is a part of the incest motive.

The ram sacrificed to Zeus Phyxios, its fleece being hung on an oak in the grove of Ares, is a substitute for Phrixos, the son sacrifice. The dismembered ram is typically associated with a tree. Pelias begs of his nephew Jason to bring him the soul of Phrixos and the golden fleece. Medea helps Jason to overcome the dragon which guards the latter, father symbol, and so he successfully makes the journey in which Phrixos earlier with his sister Helle met with disaster. The dismemberment feature of the story is repeated in the Jason-Medea reduplication of the original story. There are here the two opposite poles of the father-son conflict, Silberer believes with Rank that with this motive of dismemberment is found not only the motive of rebirth as a compensation for the killing but also the giving of life itself, that is birth. This corresponds to the infantile phantasy of birth from the putting together of separated pieces. It is also a frequent part of this myth phantasy that the pieces are gathered together in a protected place, representative of the mother's body. The mill motive which Silberer discusses is a favorite form in which the double idea of dismemberment and rebirth is indicated. The mill in which the grain is crushed in order to produce the meal, later in turn to be reconstructed into bread, furnishes significant symbolic elements. "Old wives' mill" [a German expression for "fountain of youth"] is surely a uterine symbol. The word mill, in the Greek and Latin forms, shows the relation to the word for coitus and for woman and Greek and Latin poets have played upon the words from the common root, upon which in these languages are built the words for mill, grind, the female genitals, woman and coitus. The root exists also in the German Mühle, Müller [English mill, miller], mahlen, [to grind] and the like. The Talmud testifies to the same common idea in milling and coitus and Roman custom stopped all mills at the festivals of the vestal virgins. Other instances are also given by Silberer attesting the comparison of milling to the sexual act, the man being the miller, the woman the mill and the meal the child produced. Silberer notes the comparison with churning and the making of fire, which contain the same sort of symbolism.

Grimm's collection of tales gives the mill myth in some detail. In one tale eight children are exposed, owing to a fear on the part of the mother. They are put into a kettle which is to be sunk in the pond near

the mill. The uncle, St. Bruno, rescues them and baptizes them in the spring [Brunnen] naming them Bruno. A legend of Emperor Henry III relates his birth at a mill whither his father and mother had fled to escape the anger of Emperor Conrad. Henry founded a cloister, the legend states, at the site of the mill where he was born. In another tale a king would rid himself of a possible future suitor to his daughter. He carries him as a babe in a satchel and throws the satchel into the water. It floats however and the child is saved at a mill where he is again found by the king.

Silberer cites also a Thumbling tale, where the tiny Thumbling is carried away by a giant while the father is plowing. The boy becomes a giant and returns to be a torment to the father. The latter tries to rid himself of the rival son, who later imposes impossible tasks upon the father successors to whom he hires himself. One of these employers attempts to rid himself of the overweening young man by bidding him climb into a spring for a bath when a millstone is dumped upon his head, which the fellow however takes only as an ornament hung about his neck. He is then put to labor at night in an enchanted mill. Instead of perishing under the curse which is upon the mill, he delivers the mill from the evil spirit and on his unexpected return to his master drives him and his wife to fly about in the air unable to reach one another, unable to cease their flight. Silberer calls attention to the sexual symbolism which plays so largely throughout this tale.

In spring and mill there is the combined idea of life and death, the place of birth, the entrance into death. Burkhard, Bishop of Worms, once prescribed penance to certain women who used a peculiar form of magic against their husbands, in which grain associated with their strange practice, was ground into meal and baked into bread to cause the husband's illness and death. The antithesis to the mill as the symbol of the place birth is seen in the fact that they turned the mill in the reverse direction. Elsewhere mill, spring and hell are found in close connection. The destructive idea is clear also in this feature of the incest motive, the youth as the separator of father and mother. In the story of Thumbling he grows bigger than the father; he drives the father from the plow and whatever he undertakes is done with greater power than the father possesses, whether in plowing or in the occupations of the later father substitutes. The rescue of the mill is the rescue of the mother from the father.

Silberer quotes a creation myth from Guatemala which shows also the well known features, destruction, the mill, cave or hollow, covering with branches, revivifying water, birth from water, also revenge upon the father. This myth also brings into view the added motive of improvement or improved new creation, just as out of the dismembered phallus of Osiris a new age is created. This principal of "*corruptio*

unius est generatio alterius" is an often repeated theme both in cosmo-gonic myth and in folk tale, as it is a principle of nature.

Silberer closes with a statement of certain motives embraced in this type of myth in the following summary: Destruction or corruption, etc., of the old, and building of a new being, world; swallowing, spewing out; tree out of the grave; wandering and being pursued, the pursued being finally divided, and a part being swallowed by a woman who becomes pregnant. Meal of dismembered parts; cooking; vessel; fragmentary appearance of monsters or evil spirits; gradual revivification by stages; wandering and disguised heart; singing bones.

4. *Sexual Prototypes in Simple Inventions.*—Giese's study enters a territory in which psychoanalytic interpretation can as yet make only a beginning. This the author undertakes by an examination of the extent to which sexual factors have contributed to the origin of simple, primitive inventions. It is obvious that all forms of the human body have contributed and still contribute to the choice of structure of many useful objects. The use of the distinctly sexual as a model must be looked for first among things not too far from the original model. Religion, myth, saga literature show abundant trace of sexual imagery, why should not simple material products?

Early peoples had no distinct natural science to help them away from such fundamental directness and in fact among the most widely separated peoples there is a stereotyped similarity of objects, the making of which seems to be inspired by a common, drastic image. The external sexual forms and manifestations of the sexual functions seem to have been utilized. The masculine form and function appears more frequently than the feminine. This is perhaps due first to the fact that man in early days, just as now, was more disposed to invention than woman by nature and by position. If he utilized the feminine form he did so as it most appealed to his own interest. The masculine form was both more adaptable to many things and more available to observation.

The active union of the parts, both in its suitability for representing action as well as in the emotional interests, gave greater stimulus to invention than the individual organs alone. The drawing pencil the writer believes to be an example of the copying of the male organ. Ancient examples of such an instrument have been found in form of a divided stick clamped to hold and emit a smaller or larger amount of fluid. The hydrometer has been attributed to an egg swimming in water as its model, or to a tube floating thus held up by an expansion underneath which gave it support. Giese suggests that man scarcely had opportunity to observe eggs floating in water but that the comparison with the egg and the tube arose probably, as did the original construction of the hydrometer, out of the observation while bathing

of the tendency of the scrotum and the placid penis to float in the water with a buoyancy that does not belong to the rest of the body.

The hollowness of the female genitals is carried over to flask and pitcher, vase, lamp, and other such containers, which are characterized also by tapering at one end and an ability to receive a fluid content.

The most conspicuous functional features to be copied are erection and ejaculation, together with the slipping of the foreskin. Here may be mentioned the lead pencil, the fountain pen, which is not so modern as one would think, and the air pillow. The latter is known in earlier form than the modern rubber one. The stopcock suggests ejaculation as its pattern at the same time that a straight immobile tube may refer back to urination, while certain articles are probably also determined by the anal function.

The female genital in its secondary function, that is, as related to the male, is symbolized in instruments for holding fast and pinching together. In the age of anatomical ignorance one would not expect a copying of the circular muscular apparatus but rather of external phenomena. The thighs, for example, are the model for tongs, nutcracker, compasses. Tongs appear first as pincers or scissors with two shanks. Otter traps were known about 4000 B.C. which showed the principle of catching and holding, probably indirectly derived from the action of the vaginal musculature. The brush, paintbrush, broom, suggest origin in the pubic hair although other natural objects have also determined them.

Objects which symbolize sexual intercourse refer either to defloration or to repeated acts. For the former are objects which pierce other objects, injuring them, or objects which take up and hold the entering object. For the second class are those which symbolize the motor process or union of objects without any injury to the receiving object. Among the former inventions may be mentioned nail, borer, file, rivet. Originally the entering instrument, nail, was of the same material as the object entered. Boring instruments were used mostly by means of pressure and turning. The drill or anything that perforates is reminiscent of defloration. The chisel is an analogous instrument. Such instruments date back to very early times. In modern riveting there is a double use of the principle of sexual union and this is found also in another form in Roman times in the use of the "female screw" or nut.

The use of the awl and bodkin are equally suggestive of a sexual origin, and these bring to the writer the still greater suggestiveness of the needle. This is found of bone already in the paleolithic period and may be representative of coitus in more than one sense. The needle first pierces, while the thread is caught and held as the male organ is held in the vagina. In the third place the rhythmic movement is imitated

by the action of the sewing.¹ Modifications of the needle for other purposes show the same symbolism. The early fitting of a handle into the original simple stone to form an axe is another example of sexual imitation, which in its various later modifications reveals still further use of the same model. Fire making must also be mentioned. Pregnancy is scarcely represented pure and simple, the author believes, since more evident forms of hollow places were at hand in nature than the complicated organs of the woman's body. He believes that it is doubtless true that many not insignificant implements have a direct sexual origin and the subject deserves a more detailed study.

¹ A patient reports as a distressing symptom of long standing inability to sew since the sticking in of a needle and thread always suggests "sexual thoughts."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE BOOK OF THE DAMNED. By Charles Fort. Published by Boni & Liveright, New York. Price, \$1.90 net.

An extraordinary book! There's no doubt of that. But just in what way it's extraordinary, that's the question.

The first chapter arrests the attention both by its style and by its matter. It proposes to discuss various data that science has excluded, these are the damned. Then comes a figurative enumeration of the damned as they pass in procession which reminds one of the Dance of Death. The program is a captivating one. The author then goes on by way of defining the attitude he is going to take toward the damned, to state his philosophy, in a very imperious way as if he were offering something quite new and of inestimable value. He tells us for example that "nothing has ever been finally found out because there is nothing final to find out."

Now, what are the data excluded by science which he discusses? They are, among others, falls of animal matter upon the earth, red rains, black snow, falls of sulphur, coal, resinous substance from the sky, falls of tadpoles, toads, frogs, fish, insects, worms, blood. He discusses these, and in addition astronomy, eclipses, science in general. But how? For example, he disposes of Darwinism. Darwinism is the survival of the survivors. He talks of a super-Sargasso Sea, super-tropical regions, super-geography, super-sociology, super-Niagaras, and ultra-Mississippi, the super-mercantile, super-piratic, super-evangelical. Ice falls to the earth from the super-Arctic regions; pebbles fall to earth from the beaches and floating islands of the super-Sargasso Sea. He speaks of inter-planetary wrecks, and apropos of a red shower says that something, far from the earth had bled—super-dragon that had rammed a comet.

Some of the book is interesting and we find ourselves in agreement with certain of his tendencies when for example he rails against smug conventionalism. When, however, he offers as an explanation of the finding of a crystal lens that it had been dropped by "some one a million miles or so up in the air" we ask—Is it a joke?

However, if a red-hot stove should by any chance be found in the middle of Broadway we confess to the stupidly conventional habit of mind which would prefer to suppose it had been dropped from a moving van rather than from a cloud.

He amuses when he says "In the topography of intellection, I should

say that what we call knowledge is ignorance surrounded by laughter," but what shall we say to the following?:

"Black rains—red rains—the fall of a thousand tons of butter.

"Jet black snow—pink snow—blue hailstones—hailstorms flavored like oranges.

"Punk and silk and charcoal."

The whole effort, whether we take it seriously or as a joke is scientifically a tilting at windmills by a modern Don Quixote armed with a super-futuristic style.

WHITE.

PRIMITIVE SOCIETY. By Robert H. Lowe. Published by Boni & Live-right, New York, 1920. Pp. 441 + index and bibliography. Price, \$3.00 net.

The author has written this book in the belief that there was a need for a work which gave in brief outline a description of primitive social organization. The general reader, who does not consult original sources, is still very largely dependent upon Morgan's *Ancient Society* written in 1877 for any such statement. The immense amount of anthropological data and the numerous hypotheses which have accumulated since that date make it quite an unreliable guide.

In the fifteen chapters of the book the major questions of the family, social, and government institutions and organizations are described and discussed with a wealth of illustrative matter brought from the most recent researches. Each chapter is an admirable brief of the present anthropological status of the matter discussed.

Perhaps the leading motive in the work as a whole is a determination to stick to the actual facts and not be led astray by attractive theories or catchwords. With this determination he discusses some of the attractive ideas which have held sway for so long, particularly the beliefs in an original communistic society, an early matriarchate, preceded by sexual promiscuity. He comes to the conclusion, that whether or no such were the facts there is absolutely no evidence in the structure of primitive groups, as we know them that gives warrant for such hypotheses. Interesting to readers of *THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW* is that he takes issue with Freud on his theory of Totemism.

The book is an extremely valuable one and should be read by all who still harbor the belief that primitive man is essentially simple in his psychology and his social organization. What with his description of the family, kinship usages, sib organizations, age classes, secret societies, property, the administration of justice, etc., this view will be thoroughly dispelled. Primitive man, if that is really an appropriate term, as we know him in existing tribes, is already a highly complex being, both in his psychology and his social organization.

In the concluding chapter the author undertakes to sketch the social orientation of a hypothetical member of the Mountain Crow band in which the complex ramifications of social contacts is concretely illustrated.

In summing up one is impressed with the fact that the book offers very little encouragement to cut and dried theories of social progress such as Tyler's stratification theory. So far as the facts go, the sociological features of culture "have unknown ends or ends whose value is a matter of philosophic doubt, hence they can be graded only on subjective grounds and must scientifically be treated as incommensurable." "When from definite customs and institutions we turn to the dynamics of social history, the result is again the impossibility of grading cultures, but for a different reason. Institutions are generally different and not comparable" (p. 439). "Neither morphologically nor dynamically can social life be said to have progressed from a stage of savagery to a stage of enlightenment" (p. 440). And in conclusion "Nor are the facts of culture history without bearing on the adjustment of our own future. To that planless hodge-podge, that thing of shreds and patches called civilization, its historian can no longer yield superstitious reverence. He will realize better than others the obstacles to infusing design into the amorphous product; but in thought at least he will not grovel before it in fatalistic acquiescence but dream of a rational scheme to supplant the chaotic jumble" (p. 441).

There is appended a valuable Bibliography and an Index.

WHITE.

MODERN SPIRITISM. By A. T. Schofield, M.D. Published by P. Blakiston's Sons & Co., Philadelphia, 1920. Pp. 260. Price, \$1.50.

The author purports to set forth the claims of modern spiritism, together with the argument against it. It is an extraordinary book, filled with detailed accounts of the banal evidence of table rappings, spirit messages, apparitions, and the whole childish armamentarium of mediumism. It discusses seriously such problems as obsession, necromancy, and the like, and shows in no place the slightest appreciation of the real explanation of all these phenomena. The character of the work can perhaps best be apprehended by the following quotation:

"With regard to the residue, attributed by Spiritists to the agency of the spirits of the departed, I have endeavoured to show that this is, to say the least of it, most improbable, and that a far more likely solution is that they are due to demons—some minor form of evil spirits."

There is a foreword by the Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis. The existence, the forward, and the publication of such a book must be its own commentary to readers of the REVIEW.

WHITE.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NERVOUS CHILD. By Elida Evans, with an introduction by C. G. Jung, of Zurich. Published by Dodd, Mead & Company. New York, 1920. Pp. 299. Price, \$2.50.

A very readable book addressed to parents, and presenting many practical problems of difficult children in an easily understandable form. Mrs. Evans sees in the child a dynamo of vital energy for seeking a larger life and fuller expression, and the thousand and one neurotic symptoms, negativism and all the rest are indications of blocking on this pathway. Her points are well made and illustrated by concrete examples taken from her case histories. The difficulties and problems of parenthood are made clearer but are by no means minimized. In fact the average parent will leave the book with a sense of awe as to his responsibilities and his capacity for fulfilling them.

WHITE.

PSYCHICAL SURGERY. By Joseph Ralph, 3987 Bullong Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., Published by author. Los Angeles, 1920. Pp. 77.

An exceptionally well written little book which attempts to set forth in tabloid form the principles of psychoanalysis. It is one of the best of the brief statements of the situation which have appeared.

WHITE.

PSYCHOANALYSIS. A Brief Account of the Freudian Theory: By Barbara Low, Introduction by Ernest Jones, M.D. Published by Harcourt, Brace and Howe. New York, 1920. Pp. 199.

This little book attempts to state the principles of psychoanalysis in a brief 195 pages. The author has probably done as well as could be expected in such a small space, but the presentation suffers from undue condensation and brevity. From this point of view the book is inadequate. It is naturally thoroughly understandable by the analyst, but it would be rather too much probably for the lay reader to whom it apparently appeals. The last chapter on the educational applicability of psychoanalysis is particularly to be commended.

WHITE.

SANITY IN SEX. By William J. Fielding. Published by Dodd, Mead & Company. New York, 1920. Pp. 332.

"Sanity in Sex" is well named. The author has produced a most excellent book on the general subject of social hygiene in which he has discussed the subject in an eminently simple but forceful way. The forepart of the book is taken up largely with a review of the work which has been accomplished in the Army and in various industrial plants. The latter part of the work deals with such matters as conjugal

relations and birth control. There is a very good chapter on psychoanalysis. The book is to be commended to the laity as an excellent statement of the needs of enlightenment in matters of sex.

WHITE.

DEMENTIA PRÆCOX. By Prof. Emil Kraepelin, of Munich, translated by R. Mary Barclay. Published by E. & S. Livingstone, Edinburgh, 1919. Pp. 331.

A very valuable book for the library of the psychiatrist. Prof. Kraepelin has brought psychiatry to its highest point at the descriptive level and this book contains his observations as incorporated in the last edition of his monumental work. The fact that he dismisses the psychoanalytic attack upon the problem with scanty recognition and with an obvious lack of understanding of its theories and what it has accomplished in no way negatives the value of the material which he has brought together. The observations have been carefully made and accurately recorded and may therefore serve as material for interpretation in accordance with the psychoanalytic method or any other hypotheses. Such splendid collections of data are always of scientific value.

WHITE.

MANUAL OF PSYCHIATRY. Edited by Aaron J. Rosanoff, M.D. Fifth edition, revised and enlarged. Published by John Wiley & Sons, London, 1920. Pp. 694.

This, the fifth edition of this work, has been very considerably enlarged with the collaboration of other authors. The main portion of de Fursac's book as originally translated is still included. The book has been very considerably enlarged, however, particularly in the chapters dealing with the technique of special diagnostic procedures which include a statement of the Stanford revision of the Binet-Simon intelligence scale, the Kent-Rosanoff free association tests and psychological group tests. Chapters on the practice of psychiatry have been considerably amplified, particularly along the lines of its extra-mural development. There is a special chapter on medico-legal questions, such as the relationship between vice, crime, and mental disorders, etc. Psychoanalysis comes in for a considerable discussion, covering some 25 pages, which, however, consists mostly of quotations. The book on the whole contains much of interest and value and testifies both to the enlarging field of interest in psychiatry and the growth and the extent of that field itself.

WHITE.

TREATMENT OF THE NEUROSES. By Ernest Jones. Published by William Wood & Co., New York, 1920. Pp. 233.

A considerable portion of this book previously appeared as a chapter on "The Treatment of the Neuroses, including the Psychoneuroses" in

White and Jelliffe's *Modern Treatment of Nervous and Mental Diseases*. The present volume is an elaboration of the material presented there. The book sets forth the general principles of psychotherapy, together with a critical examination of the different methods employed such as suggestion, persuasion, and psychoanalysis, and is written in an unusually clear and easily comprehensible style. It admirably presents the Freudian theories of the pathogenesis of the neuroses and gives valuable hints for their treatment. It is a valuable volume for the library of the general practitioner, as well as for the psychiatrist. The reviewer suggests that a more elaborate and detailed presentation of the subject by the author would be welcomed and trusts that he may decide to follow this course in a second edition.

WHITE.

THE SYMPATHETIC NERVOUS SYSTEM IN DISEASE. By Langdon Brown, Published by Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, London, 1920. Pp. 161.

This little book is based upon the Croonian lectures delivered before the Royal College of Physicians in London in 1918. The several chapters consider first, the plan of the autonomic nervous system, and in the chapters which follow, the part which the sympathetic nervous system plays in relation to various visceral diseases. Finally there is a chapter on vagotonia and one on the responses of the sympathetic nervous system. The book, therefore, may be considered in the main as a work on visceral neurology. Its outstanding features of importance are its recognition of the great importance which the autonomic nervous system plays and also its recognition of the importance in the general complex of visceral diseases of the psychic factor. It is for this latter reason that the book will be of value to readers of *THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*. The book is well written, the writer is an experienced internist, and the conclusions are carefully and conservatively stated. It is a work to be recommended to those who are interested in the autonomic apparatus both on the nervous and the glandular side and its correlations with the psyche.

WHITE.

THE PROBLEM OF NERVOUS BREAKDOWN. By Edwin Lancelot Ash, Doctor of Medicine, New York. The Macmillan Co. 1920.

Among the transvaluations of values caused by the Great War and not anticipated by the coiner of that phrase must be listed prominently the increased importance generally accorded psychical matters in contradistinction to physical ones. In exemplification might be cited more or less appositely Spiritualism, Bolshevism, Christian Science, Occultism, Theosophy, etc., not all of them severely exact analogues nor coetaneous with mathematical exactitude, but signs of the times, one and all. On the medical side, it is humiliating to confess that the great lay public has

been leading the profession towards an appreciation of the importance of mental mechanisms which—with a few but important exceptions—it was far from possessing a few years ago. The discovery of psychical inadequacy suddenly made under the stresses of battle and loosely termed "shell shock" was the forerunner of a beginning recognition of the same factor in civil life. Hence physicians are beginning to sequester a little of their diagnostic acumen for the evaluation of psychical maladjustments, even though it mean a little less devotion to physical nuances.

The present book is one of the results of this attitude. Dr. Ash has pointed out—on the whole competently—the underlying factors of mental hygiene; he has indicated the sources of stress and quite properly has presented a psychic mirror to the neurotic patient wherein he may see reflected both the etiology and the therapy of his difficulties.

If the book as a whole glitters a trifle with generalities this is perhaps inseparable from the problem in hand; the presentation of an adequate philosophy in terms understandable by a layman who is also a neurotic.

LIND.

FUNDAMENTALS IN SEXUAL ETHICS. By S. Herbert, M.D. Published by A. & C. Black, Ltd., London, 1920. Pp. 350.

Of the great mass of literature which is appearing nowadays dealing with questions of sex from one or another angle this book stands out as a distinct contribution to a broad and sane discussion of the sex problem. Sex is not considered from the usual narrow and distorted standpoint, but is appreciated as a component part of living to which it contributes values of the utmost importance. It is discussed from a biological, physiological, psychological and sociological point of view and its various ramifications in the fields of perversions and sublimations, marriage and divorce, prostitution and renunciation with side lights from the angles of economics, pedagogy and eugenics. The book as a whole bespeaks a broader appreciation of the variations in individual make-up and the corresponding needs that go with such make-ups and sets the standard of sexual ethics sufficiently high to incorporate such a broadening of standards without at the same time sanctioning any lowering of the sense of personal responsibility.

The book is well and interestingly written; it discusses all of the live issues in this field and in its comprehensive treatment of the whole problem can be confidently recommended as a starting point for those who wish to go further along any line of inquiry.

WHITE.

VISIONS AND BELIEFS IN THE WEST OF IRELAND. Collected and Arranged by Lady Gregory. With Two Essays and Notes by W. B. Yeats. In Two Series. New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press. 1920.

The graceful fashion in which Lady Gregory has set herself to the task of gathering and recording personal testimonies as to Irish beliefs and experiences of that fertile people makes of these two volumes a rich and delightful field of phantasy study. There is even the quaint flavor of the language with its suggestive whimsicality of expression which at times suggests a sage criticism of the belief admitted. In spite of the unquestioning acceptance of the vast world of faery or fallen angelic beings or of their own dead constantly around them; in spite of the variety of experiences with "*them*," which are almost thrown out of court by the very uncritical credulity with which they are retold and only meagerly explained; in spite of all this there is something also in the shrewd Irish mind and in its innocence of expression which gives one a respect for their wholesome reality in the midst of the phantastic multiplication of their beliefs. This respect cannot be so wholeheartedly accorded to their more learned exponent, Mr. Yeats, in his effort to add explanation and weight to their phantasies and their more simple faith. One leaves his comments with a realization of the sad confusion of an intellect drawn down into the maze of unconscious creation rather than waving its clearer banner of interpretation above the mass and confusion of striving wishes, desires of the human mind in its struggles with a hard world. Let these soften realities and supplement life's sharper outlines with phantasied beings and their activities but not to the confusion of the intellectual understanding that seeks progress.

Freud gave us the key to the mysteries of belief when he pointed out the mind's striving after wish fulfillment, its power of projection of phantasy as well as of distortion of such wishes before consciousness is permitted sight of them. This is a key which unlocks scientifically much that was otherwise perplexing, even awesome in folklore, in the beliefs everywhere to which man instinctively tends. For all men have sought and continue to seek this alteration of actual conditions by activity of phantasy-creating ability. Succeeding too well man has had to conceal the wish under the uglier more malicious forms of phantasy projection. Then he has made to himself well constructed systems whereby he has further built over these phantasies into systemized schemes of belief and so made it possible for intellect to swallow them whole and further deceive itself. All the specific reasons for such phantasy projection, loss of dear ones, mystery of death, ease of hallucinatory self deception in a visible and audible world where our senses have been only half trained anyway for actual perception, these are all utilized by a mind unconsciously busy through the ages at interpretation of outer facts according to its wishes mostly unknown and according to its little understood power of retention and revival of memory images. Other external factors are also seen at work in these simply related tales, the presence of mental disease conditions which lessen intellectual control

and therefore provide for unlimited phantasy exercise. There are the frequent incidents of being "away," the occasional falling attacks, the inevitable "drop too much." Yet there are evidences also, as has been said, of the shrewder common sense which corrects the phantasy tendency by reality at least recalling one to the fact that the "appearances" have a close relationship to the individual witness of them; "They can do nothing without some live person is looking at them" and the frequently heard homely truth, applicable as a corrective to phantasy projection everywhere. "Walking . . . I am these forty years, days and nights, and never met anything worse than myself."

In studying the tales here given one may trace something of the growth and practice through the ages of this type of thinking and believing, seeing its beginnings in a still more primitive and animistic time and its more effulgent blossoming which the special hospitable character of the Irish people have granted it and which it still maintains for them. Yet here is evident the beginning of unbelief, a fading of the reality of this phantasied world in contrast with that of the world of evolutionary sequence and strictly logical causal development. "In the old time," one narrator says, there were "so many stories, half the world was on the *other* side." There are to be found also in these tales abundant evidence of the old paths of magic mechanisms and factors which have grown familiar through the folklore collected by Frazer and others. There is the frequent reference to transference of ills, "they must lose something when they do cures." Spittle plays its important part as a charm against outside influence or a means of conveying it. There are frequent traces of transmutation of gold and dung, the faery world seeming to have a special childish interest in such transformation and a special form of exercising their power. In childish fashion the same characteristics are ascribed to "them" as possessed by the people themselves, a frequent childish and primitive manifestation. These are of course frequently enhanced and are glorified by the addition of much of beauty which the everyday people could only desire. "They" are large and strong and beautiful, ride swiftly on fine horses and in fine carriages, and yet the ghosts have also creaks in their boots.

A literary revel through these volumes has something of the same charm which a sojourn with these strange beings has for some of these narrators and yet guarded by an appreciation of the source of their faith one is free to delight in the everyday simplicity of these tales and scarcely loses one's way but returns from such an excursion into folklore less "touched" than many of these wanderers in unreality seem to have been.

L. BRINK.

NOTICE.—All business communications should be addressed to The Psychoanalytic Review, 3617 Tenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

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